

07-1379

To His Grace
THE
DUKE of ORMOND,

Lord Lieutenant General, and General
Gouverour of IRELAND.

My Lord,

If the valorous Champions, who contended in the *Olympick Games*, the Spectacle heretofore of all *Greece*, in that proportion they felt their skin to smart, their blood to drop, their bones crack, were conftomed to see upon one side, the Judges of their Combates fitting to confider their Merit; and on the other, Crowns placed aloft before them, to charm their Pains with hopes of Glory: I must acknowledge it an unpeakeable comfort to my self, that, being necessitated for maintaining a very just and pious, very great and noble Cause, to enter the Lists of Reason, and abide all Commers, even at all sorts of Weapons proper to the Fight, and all the Sharpest Encounters, of the choicest Wits, and most accurate Pens among all the Adversaries of that Quarrel, I behold the Duke of Ormond, by his Majesties most impartial, and most approved choice, already seated the great Judge of the several Combates, and the great Prize, no less than all that is most valuable in Ireland, to be adjudged by him to the victorious and fortunate Duke.

The consideration hereof, and that besides of my
in behalf of my Countrymen.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

tholicks of Ireland, and of the first Answer to that Letter, by the *Man in the dark in England*, and of the Reply to him again by me; all directly speaking all along to your Grace, is the reason I found my self obliged even to a formal Dedicatory, to your Grace also, of this other Reply, which is to a second Answer, but which a Person of Quality in Ireland had the good leisure to give that very Letter.

For having thought it but reasonable to lay aside all ceremony, while this Gentleman laid so heavy load upon me (specially when himself chalk'd the way, by his own example, in his Answer) and speak in this my Book, as he doth in that of his, not to your Grace, but to the Reader, and thereby take the more liberty to defend my self: I thought nevertheless it could likewise be but answerable to the expectation of all judicious men, that, the heat of Dilputation being once over, the Person you bear, and the Nature of the Controversie in it self, or even as relating to my self, should make me at last remember it is your Graces judgement alone I must regard, next his Majesties, above that of any, or even of all others. And make me further acknowledge, it is but my duty to submit thereto, and acquiesce therein, and even to desire it, with no less humble Resignation of my Thoughts, than reverential Dedication of my Book expressing both, although a Book certainly intended both first and last, as my very last Appeal to your Grace, for a final Decision, as well of the main Debate, as of all Appendages of it.

And yet I acknowledge withall, that hitherto I have not seen any sufficient Motive to perwade me, that the Person of Quality had not a far other design in altering or declining, in his Answer, the Title of my Letter, and that of the other two Pieces after

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written on the same subject, or (which is the same thing) in framing his own Answer to the popular judgement of those, whom he did know, or certainly would have to be, either too much prepossess'd, or too much interest'd, or both, against Equity, and against Justice, and against Reason, and against Truth it self. But however this be, I can boldly averr, not to your Grace only, but to all the World, that my own design in taking notice of this Gentleman's Book against me (though not so much against me, as against the whole Body, and even every Individual apart, of Irish Catholicks) is no other, than to justify (as well as I may) that which I pursued all along in my former Writings to your Grace, *My most humble request of your just and merciful regard of the poor distressed Catholick People of Ireland*: Without intending any kind of injustice, much less rigour, or unmercifulness to their Adversaries, nor even to this Person of Quality himself; but rememb'ring still to check, as much as in me lies, and not in my self alone, but in others, all temptations to the contrary, and as well in relation to him, and his People, or Party, as to the Irish, with that most Christian advice (whereof, as being the great Apostles, I humbly minded your ^{Rom. 13.} Grace before now, in my *Irish Colours Folded*) *Vinece in bond malum.*

As for any thing else, I have not much to say here. For albeit the Title of a Dedicatory, and the Duke of Ormond's Name prefix'd, might invite a more sprightly Genius than mine, to make use of all the Flourishes of Oratory, and Embellishments of Eloquence, and of all its Metaphors, and other Gaieties, and those finer Words, and quainter Expressions, and of even all the most ravishing and suspending Digressions answerable; yet considering the Duke

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of Ormond's Name is more famed already than my weak Eſtayes can make it, and his Merits greater than ſo mean a Panegyrist is able to ſet forth, I will not bring upon my ſelf Imprecations, by attempting to obſcure the Meridian Glory of the Sun by over-crafting it.

And therefore, my Lord, I will only add what is more ſuitable to my own Genius, and more proper to the ſubject of this Book, which I moſt humbly present, and what I believe also will be more acceptable to your Grace, than a ſpeech of your own praise, though penn'd by any the moſt eloquent *Pliny* or *Cicero* of any Age.

It is, my Lord, that I plead for a People, of whom King James's Attorney General in Ireland, nine and forty years agoe, in that excellent Piece of his, entitled by himſelf, *A Discovery of the State of Ireland*, and by himſelf Dedicated to his Maſteſty, hath given this general Character, according to his own very able judgement, much knowledge in their History, and long abode in their Country; and given it in the very last Page, and very laſt words of that Page of his Book; after he had immediately before ſaid, that the whole Island, from Sea to Sea, had been reduced to his Maſteſties peaceable poſſeſſion, and under his imme‐
diatē protection.

* The Author of (ſayes he) they will gladly continue, without deſtitute, or adhering to any other Lord or King, as long as *Discovery* they may be protected, and justly governed, without oppreſſion of the on the one ſide, or impunity on the other. For there is no Nation of People under the Sun, that doth love equal and indif‐
ferent Justice better than the Irish, or will reſt better ſatisfy themſelves, ſo as they may have the poſſeſſion and benefit of the Law, when upon just cauſe they do deſire it.

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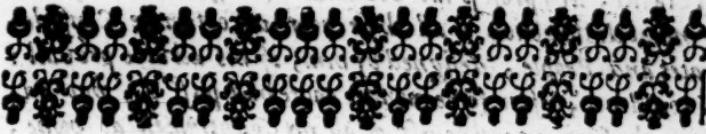
And it is further (my Lord) that I plead yet more particularly for a People, who are sufficiently known to have preserved, and out of their natural affection to the true *English Interest*, and self-preservation by that Interest, and out of a Conscience too of their obligation, by all the Laws of God and Man, to be loyal Subjects to his most sacred Majesty, who only is the supreme and most proper Judge of that Interest, to have so preserved the Kingdom of *Ireland*, in the late Wars, from being alienated from the Crown of *England*, and from his Majesty, to a powerful Foreigner, and whose Ancestors, in *Tyrone's* Rebellion against Queen *Elizabeth*, and in so many preceding Revolutions, during the fatal Divisions of *Lancaster* and *York*, under *Henry* the 6. and in the Barons Wars, in King *John's* Reign, as likewise in all other occasions (which have been but too frequent since the first Conquest by *Henry* the Second) are famous in Chronicles for having maintain'd, and commonly at their own private charges, and their own private hazard alone, the very same true *English Interest* in that Nation. But if notwithstanding two such weighty considerations (besides those many other given your Grace, not in this Work only, but also in my two former Addresses) the Catholicks of *Ireland* must be eternally miserable; and if it be so decreed, that these poor People must be utterly destroyed, and at this time too, and by the very impression of King *Charles's* the no less just than *Merciful's* Royal Hand and Seal, and by the very concurrence of the *Duke of Ormond*, and as well by occasion of their most loyal endeavours, or of having fought constantly for so many years, while any fighting was in any of the three Kingdoms, for his Majesty, as upon account of those other, which they have long since renegantly ac-

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knowledg'd to have been illegal, in the beginning, or prosecution of the *Irish War*, by any of them, untill his Majesty had , by Articles of Peace , graciously own'd them all for dutiful Subjects: Or if it be so de-
Levit. 16. creed, that the poor Catholick Party of *Ireland* must be the *Scape-Goat* of *Leviticus*, devoted to all the Vengeance both of Heaven and Earth, and that upon the unlucky head of this caytiff beast , and even by the imposition of *Aarons*'s hands, at the door of the Tabernacle, before, and in the name of the whole Congregation of God's chosen People of the *British Empire*, all their own sins, and all their own transgres-
sions, must be laid, and all the maledictions and im-
precations of punishment , which their own iniqui-
ties, or those of any of them, at any time deserved to
bring upon themselves; if (I say) this *devoted sin-offer-
ing* must be loaden so, and with so much ceremony
sent away, and by a *man of opportunity* led along to the
Wilderness, to a Land not inhabited; and if all this
appear just and fit in your eyes to be accomplish'd in
his Majesties Catholick Subjects of *Ireland*, may the
good pleasure of God, and will of the King be done!
And may the rest of his People, of so many different
Nations, Religions, and Interests, enjoy all the ble-
ssings of a prosperous Peace, under the shadow of his
Wings, and protection of his Laws and Armes!

Which, my Lord, and that your Grace may, how-
ever, determine of this great Affair, by those Rules
of heavenly Knowledge which cannot err , and
which God alone can sufficiently instruct you with,
shall be the continual Prayer of,

Yours My Lord, after the best of service do to your
soule, Ie ymni Your Graces affecktive & obsequious
blotless sonne & a good
and most faifhful Servant,



THE
PUBLISHER'S
BRIEF
Advertisement
To the
READER.

Having read, above two years and a half since, a Book, first Printed in Dublin, without the Author's Name, otherwise expressed than by that of a Person of Quality, and the same Piece after, of another Edition, at London, with the Frontispiece, or Title-Page, twice changed, but into far worse every time, with that Person of Quality's Titles prefixed, and the Gentleman's Name likewise against whose Letter he writes, and by perusal of it, having sadly considered the eternal Infamy this Person of Quality would have left to after Ages affixed to the memory of the Catholick Confederates, and People of

* A

Ireland,

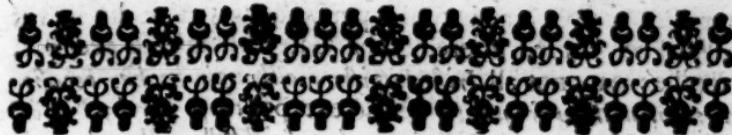
To the R E A D E R .

Ireland , who profess the Roman Faith , and no less the general destruction of all those poor unfortunate Confederates and People , designed by him , if his advice prevail : I could not , after some monibs more bad pass'd , but admire the supine carelessness of all my Countrymen at home , that none of them would undertake the pains of replying to him , and speak in Print those known clear Truths , both against his manifest falsities , and manifold fallacies , which I have so often heard by word of mouth from very knowing and sincere Gentlemen of that Country , whr were privy to all the Transactions there since 41 . Which was the reason , together with that resentment every good Patriot should have , I writ to my Friends in Ireland , and such as were likeliest to know , whether any one had thought of a Reply , or whether they all did give the Person of Quality's Answer for un-answerable . At last , after much enquiry , and pains taken in this Busines , and some Charges too , it pleased God I should receive a Manuscript Copy of this you have here . And though I know not the Author , but by report , nor understand the reason why he would not do his Country right , in appeasing this storm , which had been raised to so great a height , by occasion partly of his own former Writings , in behalf of his distressed Countrymen ; albeit that could be no just occasion , either for this Person of Quality , or the Man in the Dark in England (who writ formerly against him , The Irish Colours displayed , and whom P. W. did soon after , and ever since put to silence , by his former Reply , entitl'd , The Irish Colours fold-ed) nor even for any other to write against P. W.'s Countrymen , or himself ; yet I found my self obliged , to do both the Author , and his Country the kindness , to publish to the World , in Print , and with all sincerity , without any corruption , or the least alteration , that very Manuscript ,

TO THE READER.

as it came to my hands : hoping the Author will take this my kindness in good part ; for I am sure my Country will ; since it doth all Irish Catholicks that right , than which scarce ought any thing be more desirable to men , that regard their honour and reputation . B sides , the Demonstrations are so clear in point of Conscience , Equity , Honour , and even Interest of His Majesty , and the English Nation , which P. W. gives all along in this Piece , where occasion requires it , against our Person of Quality's inhumane Counsells , given throughout his Answer to the Duke of Ormond , and even to His Majesty : that Providence , I hope , will make some use of this Reply , by some means or other , to let His Grace the Duke of Ormond , and , by His Grace , our most gracious King , see through this cruel Design of our Person of Quality's advice , for destroying the Irish Nation generally , what he would be finally at .

I have no more to advertise thee , Reader , but , that if there be any Mistakes or Errors in some few Words , peradventure , they are mine , though not willful , or they are the Printer's Errata . And that you are to observe all along , the Author cites the first Edition of the Person of Quality's Book at Dublin , not any of the after Impressions at London , which vary in the number of Pages from that .



P. W's. REPLY

TO THE

PERSON of QUALITY'S ANSWER.

I T is not that I contend, or that I can reasonably hope to be allowed to speak last (when the Pens of obscure men in England, and of men ^{of} Quality in Ireland, are set on work to persecute my Letter to the Duke of Ormonod) I now appear in Print. But having already, by a former Reply, endeavour'd to vindicate opprest Innocency, and a most just Cause, from the malevolent Inve-
ctives of the Man in the dark, I thought it concerned me to take the same care they should not suffer under that title alone, That they were impugned by a Person of Quality. For laying that name aside, I find very little alleg'd which pres-
ses for an Answer, or is not already refuted. Yet I confess it is an elaborate Piece, that with all Art imaginable strives to endear the Writer to a prevailing Party. And in truth the late evil times have been guilty of so many changes, and men have been so dexterous, and so supple in their natures, to make application to the thriving side, that we may not wonder to see both the Art it self, and the Oratory that best suits with it, in so long a tract of time, and so many Vicissi-
tudes, brought to perfection.

Pag. 2.

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P. 2.

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2. And now ; like a purified *Muselman*, he enters the Temple , and would perswade us , that he leaves all malice , and self interest at the Gatey because he declares , that he means not all *Irish Papists* : although he has occasion to mention them frequently . And excepts ~~to~~ ^{the} *worthy Persons* of that Nation and Religion , that faithfully adhered to the King ; or having rebelled , have been truly sorrowful for it , and in the constancy of their subsequent sergicall habet washed themselves clean . Yet he forbears not to call the Nation a Beast , their Country a very Pest-house , their Religion something that pins them upon the sleeve of the Pope . But how this Writer , by his Sophistry , and Logical Quiddities , wherein he would seem to be abundantly versed , can find a way to exempt those his worthy Persons from having their share in those attributes , unless they disclaim in their Nation , their Country , and Religion , is more than I can understand . This is a meer *Hocus Pocus* ; He has dexterously conveyed the Balls , which we conceived to be in this Cup , under the other . But I am confident , he can hardly meet with any *Irish Papist* , that will think it a favour , to be fed with Applause , sauced after his manner .

Pag. 2.

3. And even those chosen men whom he has laid apart , must not pass without some stain : For they have , every one of them , so much endanger'd their being polluted again , as interceding for their guilty Country-men does amount unto . This (however , in a strict and rigorous construction of the words , barely taken , or in a benign interpretation of them , as such , it might pass ; yet in that of our Person of Quality's meaning , and to his purpose) is the first of the many Calumnies (wherewith the generality of those worthy Persons , and those others truly sorrowful , &c. are aspersed) we shall hereafter meet with in the progress of a Discourse fraught with Principles that derive their being from the Writers imagination . But however the Batteries planted against them suppose somewhat solid to beat upon , and discharge whole Volleys of *Dilemmæs* , *Enthimæs* , *Inductions* , and *Inferences* against them ; I shall only desire the favour , to know from this Writer , what *Irish Papist* that is , who intercedes , or pleads either innocence or

on justice, or humanity, or necessity, or other excuse whatsoever, for even any of all those of his Country-men appearing in his own particular, or that may be found guilty of the foul Crimes which the rude multitude perpetrated in the beginning of the late Rebellion? Or who is he that mediates either unchristianly, or unreasonably for those, that by spurning at his Majesties mercy, denied themselves the benefit of his gracious Concessions in the Articles of Peace? And if this mediation, that intercession or plea, be forborn, not only as to the generality, but even in the case of any particular Person (otherwise, at least, than by laying them all prostrate at the feet of the most merciful of Princes, and by acknowledging, with all hearty repentance, the horrour of their enormities, and by minding King *Charles* the Pious of his Royal unparalleled Clemency extended to so many other thousands in the three Nations, reputed, and really being no less criminal, yea more, many of them, than those unfortunate *Irish*) what generous breast can entertain so ignoble a thought, as to condemn a Patriot to silence, if by speaking he may assist his Country and Nation, specially in such a way as is suitable to the Divine Genius of our good King, and to the publick exigence, where millions of all sides must be destroyed, if mercy does not intercede?

4. Although I have a perfect aversion from the manner of writing which this Author observes, and that the School Dialect seldom meets with those that approve it, when it passes the Verge of the University; yet being forced for a while to follow him in his wayes, I must raise a triple Bullwark against his tripartite Battery; not giving the Reader at present any Reflections on his Charge against thy self, and his Dilemma in persiance thereof, in the first (and beginning of the second) Page of his Book; but remitting the considerations hereof to the end of this Paper, where you may form a more certain judgement of them.

5. My Preface (sayes he) consists of fears and jealousies, and those in reason must be expected from the generality of the Irish Papists. For the conscience of their own guilt

guile, although the King should make their condition safe, will never suffer them be secure. I appeal to the Writer himself, whether there can be any assertion more temerarious? Can he forget that others are as Criminal? That some have been instrumental in that unparalleled execrable Murther of Charles the First of ever glorious memory? That other have by reiterated Oaths disfavoured a Monarchical Government, and excluded our sacred Sovereign, and all the Race of the Stuarts, from any right to the Crown? That some have in favour of the principal Regicide, sworn, and sworn again, yea freely, voluntarily, without force (I mean) without compulsion or violence used to necessitate them, if not that of great rewards? Nay, that some have with all industry imaginable, sought to enthrone and make him King in fact? as, besides other invincible Arguments, the several Speeches of some of them, in a select Committee waiting on Cromwell, by Order of their mock-Parliament, Anno 1657, and specially that Speech made the 11th. of April, and another of the 16th. of the same Month, which you may read in the Book entituled *Monarchy asserted* (Printed at London by John Redmayne, Anno 1660.) Pag. 25, and 67. do evidently demonstrate) And that all of them have fought against those that would assert his Majesties Rights; and all have besieged his Cities, and taken his Forts?

Pag. 3. And will this Writer averr, *That after the goodness and indulgence of the best of Kings hath made their condition safe, the conscience of their own guile will never suffer them be secure?* Observes he not what a Nest of Hornets he hath disclosed? To what distrust he subjects the inviolable word of his Majesty? And how vain and frivolous he renders Acts of Oblivion and Indempnity all the World over? Had he said, *That the Conscience of great Guilts, though forgiven, would exact Repentance, nothing had been more consonant to Justice;* but that the Royal word of a Prince cannot secure the fears of an Offender, must be the dictate of the Writers private Conscience. For the experience of all Ages, and the practice of all Countries, confirm the unquestionableness of the Tener.

6. Fear is founded on, at least attended with hatred. Pag. 3.
 This is a Principle whereof he may well assume the honour to have been the first Author; For no man who hath ever writ of the passions of the mind, will contend for that priority, or this consecution, as necessary to that fear of mine, considered as 'tis express'd. I said, *The generality of the Catholiques of Ireland, the Nobility and Gentry, even the Duke of Ormond's fast Friends heretofore*, were at that present (when I writ that my first Letter) seized with a fear, and a darkness or dimness of judgement, losing their faith of his future appearance for them, or hopes of their delivery by him. Now by what Privilege in Logick he can inferr thereupon, *That therefore they hate the Duke of Ormond*, is a thing, wherein I believe the Reader, notwithstanding the circumstances of universally and intenſly, would desire to be satisfied.

Pag. 3.

7. What humane society could subsist, if this ratiocination might be received as a convincing argument? Would not the Creditor hate the Debtor, because he feared he might demand his money? Would not the Client hate his Council at Law, because he feared he might be remiss in studying his Case? Would not a Suter hate his Judge, because he feared he might give Judgement against him? Would not one Friend hate another, because he feared he might not be sufficiently carefull of his interests? Would not the Wife her Husband, and the Husband his Wife; and Children their Parents, and these again those; and the King even the best of his Subjects, and they likewise him? I am sure any of those things may be said as justifiably, as that the generality of the Irish Papists, because they were seized with fear, &c. and were losing, then when I wrote that Letter, *their faith of his future appearance for them, and hopes of their delivery by him*, do hate the Duke of Ormond. But alas! our Person of Quality is not sollicitous of their personal hatred to the Duke of Ormond: A second, and a more venemous inference depends on this. *Whish (sayes he) in plain English is this, That although his Majesty should from time to time nominate for Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, the wifest, and the faithfuleſt of his Subjects; yet because the King Commissionates them, or because they are ſuch, or both, many*

(I)

(I wish I could not say most) of the Irish Papists will be jealous and fearful of them.

8. Now the Reader may find wherefore he erected that Principle of fear and hatred ; and will hereafter observe into how many shapes our Person of Quality turns himself , to do the Nation the like good Offices . For my part , lest his Dilemma should pass unanswerable , I avow what I said to be true , That the generality of the Irish Catholicks were then seized with jealousies and fears , losing their faith at that present of the Duke of Ormond's future appearance for them , and hopes of their delivery by him . And this , methinks , should rather be alleged by the Writer , as a testimony of their excess of confidence in him , than as a mark of the hatred imposed upon them . Yet he must still descant on his own song : And those fears and jealousies , being no other than what I have described them , he avers , that they are become nationally violent . This is a bitter , but groundless Invective , as is evident by what I have said : And the Deductions from it , are the Effects of such a kind of wittiness , as being framed to the elevation of the multitude ; concludes nothing solidly .

Pag. 4.

9. These fears and jealousies are not of the same kind those were of , that hurried on to that horrid Insurrection in 41 . the first Actors : Nor were they fears and jealousies alone of what kind soever , which have been the only Passions that so irrationally , so inhumanely transported some of them . As for the generality of Irish Catholicks , specially of the Nobility , Gentry , and Citizens , whereof some within three , others four , some five , and many at six months end , after the first flame of the Rebellion , took Armes in their own very natural defence , whether they have not , not only pretended , but very truly and faithfully alleged , First , By their Commissioners to his late Majesty at Oxford , and since upon several occasions , even publickly , and in their Printed Remonstrances , and other Papers for themselves , as necessitating Causes of their conjunction with the first Insurrectionists (yet not of their conjunction in the Grounds , Motives , and other Designs , charg'd upon those first Contrivers , as peculiar to themselves alone , but

in that of a social, and very natural defence, and in that of those other indeed specious pretences, which their Oath of Association contained) whether I say they alleg'd not other kind of jealousies and fears (than those expressed in my Letter) to excuse their own actings, or conjunction, against the Laws of the Land? Whethier they alleged not, and ver-
y truly alleged a farr other kind of jealousies and fears, that is, even those which all, both Civilians and Canonists allow as very probable and excusable, if *Metus cadens in vi-
rum constantem* be such? Whether they pleaded not the very Law of Nature (though I do not for them this or any other to justifie their actions, but to lessen the guilt of their taking Armes) even that Law (I say), which moves the hand by interposing it self to bear off a stroke aimed at the head? Let the *Brief Narrative*, Printed and published at London in the Year 1660. resolve our Person of Quality. Wherein, as I am sure, he may find other jealousies and fears, than such as possess now the Catholicks of Ireland: so he shall read farr other Causes of them. Which is the reason I give out of that little and accurate Piece the following Passages (and even in the Authors words) which relate to our present purpose.

They therefore (he means the English Nation) and the whole World may be pleas'd to know, that we (to wit the Irish) are so farr from justifying any horrid actions perpetrated at that time, when but a few of any quality raised a Rebellion in the North, as we have, and still make it our request, that those Crimes, and all Massacres and Murthers then, or after committed, whoever shall be found guilty of them, be punished. Yet we may not omit (although no Motive whatsoever could justifie their Undertakings) to represent, that before they fell from their Obedience to the Government, Sir William Parsons, one of the Lords Justices, that supplied the Deputies place, at a publick Entertainment, before many witnesses, did positiv-
ly declare, that within a twelve-month no Catholick should be seen in Ireland: Many hands were sought, and thousands were found to subscribe a Petition tending to the introducing of a se-
vere Persecution against Catholicks, who were the farr greater number

number of the Inhabitants of Ireland ; And that the menace of an Invasion of a Scotish Army, of which men at that time did frequently discourse , bred frightful apprehensions. So as these and other grounds of suspicion , being improved by such among them , whose particular Interests could be most favoured , and better advanced in unquiet times , laid the foundation of that Rebellion. But even these men , and at that time when the Lords Justices did not appear to be prepared for resistance , by their R-monstrance humbly begg'd their Grievances might be redressed , by the advice of the two Houses of Parliament , then met at Dublin. But the Lords Justices (who by their words and actions , not only expressed their unwillingness to stop the farther growth of these Distempers , but meant to increase them , and were often heard to wish , that the number were greater of such as became Criminal) by proroguing the Parliament , made them desperate. However the Nation by their Representatives , in the two dayes which were only allowed them to sit , husbanded their time so , as to leave to posterity a monument of their aversion to such attempts , by declaring , that those men had traiterously and rebelliously taken Armes ; and offering to employ their Lives and Fortunes in reducing them to their Obedience , if they might be permitted then to sit. But this was denied them ; and by a strange change from the antient form of Government , a Parliament then sitting was prorogued ; whereas our Ancestors , upon a fair less occasion than quieting of so high Distempers , were usually called upon to assist the King with their Advice. To this may be added , that the Marques of Ormond proposed at the Council-Board , the raising of five thousand men in the space of three weeks , if he might be authoriz'd so to do ; with which strength he undertook to dissipate those then weak beginnings of the ensuing mischief , and to prevent their farther growth ; but was refused it. So as thus farr we may observe who they were that widened the wound instead of stanching the blood.

This foundation being thus laid , that which at first was but a spark , and might be easily quenched , began to flame : And freedom of Rapine having suddenly drawn numbers together , the unreprest Conspirators became a formidable Army , and besieged Tredah , passing the River of Boyne , which was

Rubicon of the Pale, and had in all former Rebellions been maintained with their blood, by those antient English Colonies planted there. Now it was that the times began to favour the design of the Lords Justices, and their Party in the Council, which was as forward as they to foment the Distractions. For the Ulster Army lying in the bowels of the Country, the Forces being not yet come out of England, and the Natives themselves both unarm'd and distrusted by the State, they were forced at first, by their regular contribution, to prevent the desolation which would have followed their refusal to supply them. Herupon such Contributors began to be looked upon, and characted as men fallen from the Government. And a Party that was sent from Dublin, having killed at Santry (but three miles distant from thence) some innocent Husbandmen (among whom there was two Protestants) and carried their heads as in triumph to the City, the neighbour Inhabitants alarm'd thereat, had recourse to such Weapons as first came to hand, and gathered in a Body. Whereupon the Lords Justices set forth a Proclamation in nature of a safe Conduct, by which these so in Armes, and Mr. King of Clontarffe by special name, had five dayes respite to come in and present their Grievances. But before three nights of the time prefixed were expired, Mr. King's house was pillaged, and burnt by direction of the Lords Justices. Not long after supplyes being arrived out of England, and the siege of Tredah raised, and consequently the force removed, which necessitated the Inhabitants to comply with the Ulster Army, the Nobility and Gentry of the Pale prevailed with Sir John Read, his Majesties sworn Servant (a Stranger to the Country, unengaged, and an eye witness of their proceedings, then upon his journey to England) to take the pains to present their Remonstrance to the late King of ever blessed memory, and to beg pardon for what they were thus compelled to act. But he, poor Gentleman, coming to Dublin, was apprehended, and not concealing the Message intrusted with him, was put to the Rack; The most part of the questions which were then asked him in that torment, being no other, than such as might lead him to accuse the King and Queen to be Authors and Fomenters of that Rebellion. Moreover, the two Houses of Parliament in England, for the better inducing the Rebels to repent

repent of their wicked Attempts, commended to the Lords Justices, according to the power granted them in that behalf, to bestow his Majesties gracious pardon to all such as within a convenient time, &c. should return to their Obedience. The Lords Justices (notwithstanding such Order, and his Majesties gracious pleasure signified to that effect) by their Proclamation dated in November 1641. limited such his Majesties, and the Parliaments of England, their favourable and general Intentions, to the Inhabitants of a few Counties, provided always, they were no Free-holders; and afforded them no longer time than ten dayes after the Proclamation to receive benefit thereby. But notwithstanding these restrictions, the Lord of Dunsany, Sir John Nettervill, Patrick Barnewall of Kii-brue, and many others who had notice of his Majesties gracious Inclination towards the Nation, and the Parliament of Englands Order in favour of them, submitted to the Lord Marquess of Ormond, then Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army, who recommended them to the Lords Justices, intimating, that the good usage to be extended to them, would have an influence on many others, and be a great motive to quiet the Distempers which then began to spread. But the Lords Justices, whose Design was not to be carried on with Mercy and Indulgence, to prevent submissions, Imprisoned and Indicted by a Jury, which did not consist of Free-holders, those so submitting, and put the said Mr. Barnewall (of the age of sixty six years) to the torture of the Rack. This notwithstanding, the Noblemen and Gentry inhabiting the Country next to Dublin, applyed themselves humbly by their Letter to the Lords Justices. Which when the Earl of Castle-haven, a Nobleman of English Birth, who freely, before that time, had access to Dublin, came to present, he was made Prisoner. Wherefore, when the Nation observed, That their Advice in Parliament was not only thought unnecessary, but themselves involved in a general distrust;

That neither the Parliaments, nor the Marquess of Ormonds offer to suppress the Rebellion, would be accepted;

That the enforced complying of the Nobility and Gentry of the Pale with a powerful Army, which was Master of their Lives and Fortunes, was imputed to them as a malicious aversion from the English Government;

That

That the blood of innocent Husbandmen was drawn, and the heads of men were grown an acceptable Spectacle in Dublin;

That the publick Faith was broken, and mens Houses (particularly enabled to claim benefit by it) pillaged and burnt;

That all wayes were obstructed by which they might implore his Majesties mercy, and represent their Conditions;

That the favourable Intentions of the Parliament of England, and his Majesties Gracious Pardon, which was meant should extend to all, save such as were guilty of blood, was so limited by them, as no Estate man could receive benefit by it;

That those, who, notwithstanding their restrictions, cast themselves freely upon his Majesties mercy, were Imprisoned, Indited, and some of them Racket;

That the Earl of Castle-haven might have found it a Capital Crime to mediate in their behalf, if he had not made his escape after twenty weeks Imprisonment;

That the King's sworn Servant was Racket, and his Ministers, whose duty it was to have been zealous of the honour of their Master, endeavoured to asperse it, and to render him, and his Royal Consort, odious to his People, by striving to extort from a tortured man, some testimony by which they might be accused of raising and fomenting that Rebellion. When these, and many other Arguments of this kind, which (lest we should be too prolix) we omit, had convinced the Catholicks of Ireland, that the Lords Justices, and that part of the Council which adhered to them, became unfaithful to his Majesty, and had designed the ruine of that Nation, and the extirpation of their Religion;

That Law which moves the hand by interposing it self to bear off a stroak aimed at the head, convened an Assembly of theses, who were exposed to those so eminent dangers, in which they modelled a Government, in order to their natural defence, obliging themselves by such an Oath to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, as well shew'd their affection to the Crown, and their unalterable resolutions to maintain his Majesties Rights, and to follow his fortune. Between these divided Governments, there have been Battels fought, Cities and Forts besieged, and

much Christian blood spilt, which will one day lye at some mens doors: And who these are, the Eternal Wisdom best knows, and the Reader is left free to determine.

Pag. 3. 10. All which, and all whatsoever else I Print, I am very well content may fall or stand, as that is true which P. W. avers in this passage of the Duke of Ormond's Country-men; (if indeed he avers the Supposition at all, or the Irish to be such, that is, of the same Country with his Grace, whether they be really so, or no) And I no les desire, that all our Person of Quality writes on this subject, may stand or fall, as that Proof he brings in his Parenthesis, to ground his own wish for me, is true or false. *For his Grace (sayes he) is neither his* (he should have more properly said their) *Countrymen by Birth, Religion, or any other relation to which that name is applicable.* Certainly the name of Roman was applicable to Constantine the Great, even then when first he was Christian, that is, of a different Religion from the State, Senate, People, and Army of Rome, though he was born at York in Great Britain: To Theodosius, and Seneca, though born in Spain: As likewise to so many thousands more, where-ever begotten, or born, or of what Religion soever, who enjoyed the Rights, Privileges, and Title of Roman Citizens. Nor can he deny the name of an Englishman to that Prince was of purpose brought in his Mothers belly to Carnarvan, to appease the warlike humour of the Welshmen, by giving them a Prince of their own Country. Extraction, and the Communion of Blood and Laws, and Titles of Honour, and the Freedom of Citizens, gave these the name of Roman, though they ceased not therefore to be Britains, Spaniards, Welsh, &c. by their birthright. And shall not the Duke of Ormonds Blood, extracted from the Loins of the most Noble Irish Catholick Families, during the succession of so many Ages, these four or five hundred years, his Predecessours born there, his great Demains and Estate there, his Titles of Honour, and those of his fore-Fathers too, of Baron, Viscount, Earl; and lastly, his own of Marquels, and Duke, all there; shall not so many other Barons, Viscounts, and Earls,

Earls, descended from the House of *Ormond*, all *Bastlers*, and *Irish*, and *Catholicks* too; so many *Baronets*, and *Knights*; so vast a number of *Squires*, and other *Gentlemen*, all of that Nation and Communion; besides all the almost numberless number of his *Allyes* in all the four Provinces of *Ireland*, of all the most antient and most illustrious Families of that Kingdom and Religion: Shall not (I say) all these Considerations, besides the Community of the same Laws, Rights, and Privileges (not to regard that of Education, or Language) entitle the Duke of *Ormond* to the name of *Irish*, or their *countryman*, or to any Relation to which that name is applicable? Doubtless the Topick & majori ad minus, will conclude here our Person of Quality in the affirmative, notwithstanding all his Logick. And his own Claim besides to *Ireland*, or *England*, or both, will conclude him. And all Historians that distinguish the People of *Ireland* into antient *Irish*, and antient *English*, evict this Confession from him, being these do never the more cease to be *Irish*. Finally, The Opinion of the World, and Custom of *England* in particular, reputing and calling those *Irish*, who have in many regards less right to the name than the Duke of *Ormond* hath, force this acknowledgement from any Contradictor; albeit *England*, with much reason, challenge him as *English* withall, by his more antient Extraction from, and his own Birth among them, and by so many other Titles which makes their Claim very just, while they bereave not others of their own; as none doth, that I know, but my two Antagonists, the *Man in the dark*, and this Person of Quality.

11. But however this be (which indeed is no more material than it is to shew our Person of Quality's vain confidence, erecting imaginary Trophies on the most immaterial passages of my Letter) I will now proceed without leaping Pag. 4. backwards to the year 41. reserving my answer to what he farther alleges here, until I come to that part of his discourse where he vents himself more fully, and with no less acrimony upon that Subject.

12. Concerning P. W. his affection to and confidence in his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, since this is alleg'd by the Wri- Pag. 5. ter

ter for an end of mischief, I may be allowed to say this confidence took root, and grew up in difficult times, and upon such occasions, in order to his Majesties service, as perhaps the Writer might heretofore have construed to have been high Treason against Cromwell.

And as we ought not to wonder that the hazardous employments I underwent, obtained for me at that time free and frequent access (though my Letter speaks nothing at all of such freedom or frequency) to a Minister of State that cherish'd all instruments who might in any measure promote his Majesties affairs: So it is not strange that in so noble a nature as is the Duke of Ormond's, there might remain some such memory of my fidelity, as I should, even in these better times, be frequently admitted to his presence, and allowed to speak my thoughts with accustomed freedom. Upon this occasion the Writer raises such a storm against me, as plainly discovers, that though Malice be a sullen, yet it is a very Airy passion, which rather than it should not blow, will create it self wind of any thing. I beseech the Reader to observe what use this Gentleman makes of mine, and the reliance of others upon the word of the Duke of Ormond mentioned in that Letter, and how he casts the phrase in a new mould, and then interprets it to such a sense, as no Sophistry can force the expression to bear, nor any but a malevolent spirit, give it. My words are, *Who have so many years relied on your Word and Virtue*: and within a few lines after, to clear these clouds of darkness, and to clear them in this present conjuncture, by an effectual demonstration of that Justice and favour you intended the Catholicks of Ireland in your Articles of Peace. I appeal to the most interested Adventurer, or Soldier, whether he conceives this word in the same sense it was written, and is obvious to all eyes, could be applyed to any other thing, than that word which the Duke of Ormond pass'd to the Catholicks of Ireland under his Seal and Signature in the Articles of Peace? And to confirm this, do I not, in speaking of the Articles of Peace to the Duke himself, call them *your Articles of Peace*? as if I shoud say, these are your word, these are your promise. And yet this Gentleman hath the confidence to say, that *P.W. would make*

*make us believe , as if some word in secret had past by his Grace Pag. 5.
to the Irish Papists, which they dare thus mention to himself ,
and publish to the World.*

13. This Gentleman sayes moreover , that I speak of my *dayly care and trouble to support his esteem , and of blaming distrusters as ignorant of State affairs , and the intrigues obstructing as yet , or of inconsideration of those wiser ways ; though slower than folly or rashnes could chalk out , or of prejudices and an evil passion.* I confess this charge , only the first branch excepted , at least as to the words (or even sense) and manner of expression ; my Letter having no where our Person of Quality's phrase of *my dayly care to support the Duke of Ormond's esteem* ; but another very different , and no less true than modest : my words being these , *My Lord, these are thoughts which more and more trouble me dayly ; because I have dayly new occasions to reflect on them.* Ergo I said , *my dayly care and trouble was to support his esteem?* A strange inference , as if the final motives of my trouble must of necessity have been , my desire to support my Lords esteem ; or as if his Grace did need my support ; or that if I knew my self valuable for any such thing , I would be so immodest in my expressions . But allowing this unhandsom advantage , what then will all his Charge here signify ? Nothing less than his purpose . Can any one imagine , that other use might be made of these words , than as of arguments form'd by my self , *to support the esteem of the Duke of Ormond* , (since this Person of Quality will have it so) and to appease the distrust of some of my Country-men ? Yet this Gentleman would fix upon me , that I would insinuate , as if those reasons were conveighed unto me by the Duke of Ormond ; and therefore gives me the name of *his Graces intimate Confident.* Which if all that have free and frequent access to his Grace (and that is all the ground I give (if I give even this) for being so called) may be privileg'd to assume , his intimate Confidants will become unreasonable numerous . And with how little reason this Gentleman exaggerates the matter , by terming me *a perfect Enemy to the English Interest , and Protestant Religion* , is evident , since neither my *self* any of my name in Ireland , can pretend to any Pag. 5

Estate in that Kingdom ; but by an *English* Interest ; and that I daily pray for the long and happy Reign of our Sovereign *Charles* the Second, who is the Chief of that Religion. Besides, that I am sufficiently known, even to very many Protestants, and to some of the chiefest and best of them, to be in my Capacity, and to my utmost power, so farr a protest Friend to their Religion, as not only to wish from my very Soul, but to endeavour too in the best way I can, that all Differences 'twixt it and the *Roman* be composed, not by the Rebellion of Subjects, or any force of Armes, but by such means as those were the blessed Apostles took for appealing the Controversies of the primitive Christians, and by such others as are suitable to the Gospel of Christ.

14. Now the Reader perhaps may wonder, wherefore this Gentleman made so perverse a Comment upon so innocent a Text. And I can imagine no other reason for it, but that being himself desirous to expose the Duke of *Ormond* to the obloquy and distrust of the *English*, and not daring to appear bare-fac'd in so foul a practice, he vented his own Conceptions by fathering them upon another, and was willing to give his Grace the blow, although he look'd a quinct on me. If this be to *betray with a kiss, and by undermining,* the guilt must lye at the Gentleman's own door : For he must excuse me, if I do not lend him my Paw, to rake the Chesnuts out of the Embers.

15. As for my affection to the Duke of *Ormond*, whereat, in the next place, this Gentleman has a fling, though he confess (but either forgetfully or wilfully) I said no more in my Letter, for that in particular, than I said in general, for my Countrymens having a right to the Peace made in 1643. I am content his Grace takes his measure of it by his knowledge of my endeavours that all my Countrymen should observe that Peace with the greatest Punctuality, Religion, and Sincerity imaginable. And so the Gentleman hath his belief herein confirmed by my consent. But in as much as he seems to take it ill, that in my Letter I gave him no more ground than he will understand I have, to vent his passion against my affection, I profess to him now, and to all the

World, that my affection hath been as great, as good, as constant, as passionate, as truly loyal, and as religiously Christian, in all respects, to his Grace, since ever I had the first honour of his acquaintance, as my Letter expressed it to be *unalterable*. That I have given since that time, and before that time, invincible arguments thereof; and those too known to thousands, Friends and Foes (amongst whom I could number some, peradventure of this Person of Quality's Friends heretofore, *Ludlow*, and *Jones*, and *Corbet*, sometimes Commissioners in *Ireland*, under the Usurpers; besides others of greatest rank in *England*, in the dayes of Anarchy, under the young Protector *Cromwell*, and the Committee of Safety: And I could call even *Spaniards*, and as far as *Madrid*, and the greatest Ministers of State to the Catholick King, to witness. And yet have given such invincible arguments hereof, as the Duke of *Ormond* himself will (I doubt not) if occasion require, acknowledge to have been such, and own both them and me as such.

16. The next Battery is rais'd against that part of my Letter which this Gentleman calls my *Petition*, and immediately a loose shot is made to shew that I am struck *with the jealousies and fears of my Countrymen*, limiting the Duke of *Ormond's* assistance to the present Conjunction. Certainly no indifferent Person will think this to be precipitation or distrust in me, when he understands that the Bill of Settlement was then transmitted hither to his Majesty, and that an Act of Parliament once past concludes all Interests.

17. Here I shall beg this favour of the Reader, that he may not judge it essential for his Satisfaction, that I should pursue every flash of wit, that, like sparkles in a new kindled Char-coal fire, breaks from this Gentleman: And that he deferr giving this of *Articling first, and breaking of Articles*, any great applause, untill he shall have underitood, in the due place, how those Articles were made, and how they were broken.

18. Now laying aside, as to the punctual formality of the Order, that division of Justice into *Distributive* and *Commutative*, and the branches that spring from it, I shall endeavour to set forth faithfully the substance of the



Gentleman's discourse, and reply as truth shall enable me.

Pag. 7. 19. He will not allow of what I say of the Catholicks putting themselves *freely* into his Graces hands. He will have the word *freely* restrain'd here, without any reason, to his own meaning, and only to signify *gratis*, against all the Rules of Divinity, Philosophy, Oratory, History, Grammar, against the nature or imposed signification of the word in it self; against the acceptance of men, even of the vulgar; against that which the Antecedents, and Consequents, and middle, and all parts of my Letter, duly ponder'd, can make it import; and no less against my intention, abundantly and rationally expressed, not by this word alone, but in the whole contexture of that innocent Piece of mine. For all understanding men know, that the word *freely* cannot of it self, or without some restriction or limitation by the matter treated of, or by other adjuncts, be more, if not rather much less, restrained to signify either merit, or equivalency; or other answerable thing by pact, than to express a meer spontaneous inclination, and election, at least without force imposed on the party so determining. And the whole discourse, argument, and final scope of that Letter, shew evidently that my intention there by the word *freely*, was no other than to express a strong inclination, or desire, and a freedom of will, and voluntary action of the Roman Catholick Confederates, for as much as related to them, in concluding that Peace: Or (at most) to express that freedom which is not lessen'd by external force, coaction, or violence. For could it have been rationally imagined, that I, who in every other line do mention the Articles of Peace, should be so foolishly impudent, as to averr, that the King granted nothing? What is more frequent than, if you delay to perform your promise given upon pact, to allege, that I did *freely* put my self into your hands?

Pag. 7. 20. But to sto this Person of Quashy right, I must confess, he doth not absolutely averr the word *freely* in that instance of mine to signify *gratis*, but with reservation fayes, if in this instance it signifies ought moritoriously, it signifies
the
reservacione

the same as gratis. And upon this improbable, ridiculous, impertinent supposition he must spend a whole Page disputing against his own imaginary signification, a *Chimera*, a mere nothing, as being inconceivable by any else but himself. Which is the cause I will now begin to make use of his own so frequent manner of arguing. Our Person of Quality either understood the word *freely* was not in *that instance* determined to *merit*, or he understood it was. If *that*, wherefore so many arguments to overthrow a sense he knew my Letter did not bear? If *this*, does not he betray his want of judgement and knowledge?

21. Yet in the next Page he must prosecute an error by adding to it an imposture. That (says he) which his Ma^r Pag. 8. *jespy calls forced, compelled, and necessitated, P. W. calls freely putting themselves into his Graces bands.* Is it possible that so much ignorance (that I may speak modestly) should drop from the Pen of a Person of Quality? I grant his Majesty in his gracious Declaration of the 30th. of Novem. 1660. Page 3, has these words, *We well remember the Cessation of the Peace, which our Royal Father of blessed memory had been forced, during the late troubles, to make with his Irish Subjects of that our Kingdom, and by which he was compelled to give them a full pardon for what they had before done amiss, upon their return to their duty, and their promise to give his Majesty a vigorous assistance.* And soon after in the same Page these other words, *We could not forget the Peace which Our selves were after necessitated to make with our said Subjects, in the time when they who wickedly usurp'd the Authority, had erected that odious Court for the taking away the life of Our dear Father, &c.* And I further grant all the advantages he can derive from that passage of mine, But withall, my Lord, I shall give your Excellence my most earnest and most humble desires, that you delay no longer, than shall be necessary, to clear those clouds of darkness, and clear them in this present conjuncture, by an effectual demonstration of that justice and favour you intended the Catholicks of Ireland in your Articles of 48, when they so freely put themselves and their power into your hands. And what then? must it follow; that *That which his jespy calls forced, compelled, and necessitated,*

P. W. calls freely putting themselves into his Graces bands ? By what Rule of Logick I wonder ? I am sure not by those of Opposition , either of Contraries , or Contradicitories , or by any other than that of this Gentleman's *Dissarum* , even that by which he might as well argue and conclude *Vera est in Cælo , ergo baculus est in angulo.* His Majesty sayes , that both his Father of blessed memory , and himself have been forced : And I say the Confederate Catholicks have been free , and those and these are not the Same , but very Different things : And Opposition must be in the very self-same thing . Must it not follow therefore , that our Person of Quality's Conclusion is from the Staffe to the Corner (as they say) ?

22. But to let the Reader see this Gentleman's Eticks are no better than his Logick (his blind Zeal , or a worse Passion , equally confounding his Judgement here and there) let us grant him what he cannot prove , nor has any kind of colour to allege , that I had said his Majesty was free in concluding that Peace , must it therefore have followed , that I contradict or oppole his most sacred Majesties expressions above related ? Or that I said his Father of blessed memory was not forced to the Cessation , or himself to that Peace ? Surely this Gentleman hath forgot his Morals , if he think so ; or if he think not so , he must speak against his Conscience , by fixing that on me , whereof he knows me unguilty . But however this be , can he deny there are four kinds of Freedom diversly imported by the word *freely* ; one from intrinsick necessity , or natural undeliberation , otherwise called *Freedom of election or indifference* ; another from extrinsick (that is from coaction , violence , force , or compulsion) derived from external causes , whether natural or free ; a third from both ; and a fourth yet from the more violent kinds of outward force , necessity , or coaction , imposed or used by men , though not from those other kinds that are not so pressing ? Or can he deny the first to be essentially and simply such , specially in relation to the second ? Or this to be accidental only , and *secundum quid* ; or in a certain diminutive sense in respect of that , and in relation to internal , deliberate , or voluntary consent , or dissent ,

dissent, or even to external operations proceeding from them? Can he maintain the word *Freedom* to be solely appropriated to that which is from both internal and external necessity or coaction, in the whole latitude of this word *Coaction*, or in the sense of it, imports that which is by and from another man, and which moreover amounts to the actual restraint of ones person, or danger of his life? Or will he maintain the Merchant, who in a storm casts over-board his goods to save his life, does not act with that freedom and voluntariness, that is primarily, essentially and simply such, or such as may denominate him in that case freely acting, as to this ejection of his goods, though he act withall *secundum quid*, or in some degree, or some sense *unfreely*, or unwillingly? Or likewise maintain, that his Majesties meaning was by the words *forced*, *compelled*, *necessitated*, to signify that he had not, in concluding with the *Irish*, that essential or inward *freedom*, which is called *freedom*, or liberty of election, or indifferency, and which only excludes inward necessity, or natural undeliberation? Or even to signify that he had not, moreover that kind also of outward *freedom*, which is only from the more violent sorts of external Coaction, viz. from corporal restraint, or danger of death, or any other such violent compulsion (if any such other be) that invalidates Agreements made betwixt a Sovereign Prince, and his Subjects in Armes against him? If our Person of Quality cannot maintain these, or deny those, as is evident to all judicious knowing men, he cannot; then must it be noted evident, that even, in case I had said in my Letter, that his Majesty had (on the other side) freely Commission'd my Lord Duke of *Ormond* for transacting that Peace, and freely consented to, and freely approved of, and ratified the whole transaction, when concluded (as without any peradventure his Majesty has) I had spoken as truly, significantly, and properly, and without any contradiction or opposition to his Majesties related expressions, as I did in saying the *Roman Catholicks* of *Ireland* had freely put themselves into my Lord of *Ormond's* hands. Yea, and without any such comparison (lest this Person of Quality suspect what I intend not) had spoken a very known truth,

and a truth no way contradicting or opposing those passages of his most sacred Majesties Declaration. For who is so blind, as not to see, that with this kind of accidental unfreedom (imported by the words *forced*, *compelled*, *necessitated*) that liberty or freedom which is primarily, essentially, and simply such; That which renders our actions moral, humane, obliging in Conscience, virtuous or vicious before God; That which gives force to contracts and agreements before men, doth conflict? Or who understands not that this kind of liberty which denominates actions (proceeding thence) *simpliciter liberas voluntarias* (albeit they may be at the same time *secundum quid involuntariae*) hath no opposite, but intrinck necessity, undeliberation, or natural inconsiderancy? Or that the liberty and freedom I would have had in our supposition, asserted to have been in his Majesty, could have no other opposite, but either that intrinck necessity alone, or with it, or without it, that more violent kind of extrinck force, to wit, personal restraint, or danger of ones life? And consequently, that as there is no opposition twixt external force, and intrinck liberty, or twixt any other lesser, or milder kind of external necessity, force, compulsion, and being free from bodily restraint, or danger of death only: So there must be none twixt his Majesties being *forced*, *compelled*, or *necessitated*, as above, and his being *simply free* (nevertheless) in giving the Commission-Royal to conclude that Peace, and in ratifying after what was concluded.

23. I confess notwithstanding that if the *coaction* from External Causes (I mean from other men) be such as to deprive one of his Corporal liberty, or to endanger inevitably, or notoriously, the life of another, whom they would force by such means to *condescend* to some *Pacts* or *Concordatums*; in this case, the Laws and the consent of Nations, and natural reason dictate the rescission of them. Whence it is that the consent of his late Majesty in the *Isle of Wight*, Had he given any, as he did not to the then Parliament, might and ought to be rescinded. But withall I affirm, that Princes are not by any other obvious necessity imposed upon them by disobedient or disloyal Subjects, excused from performing

ing agreements, howsoever otherwise forced, compelled, or necessitated they be; provided the Covenants be not against the Laws of God and Nature. For this being denied, what should the Plea of *Magna Charta*, or *Carta de Foresta*, avail the Barons, that forced both from King John? What so many pacifications throughout the World? So many Acts of Indemnity, Modern or Antient, Forein or Domestick, which Princes would not (at least in the Latitude they were in) have assented to, had not the Rebellious Contumacy of their Subjects forced, compelled, and necessitated them?

24. It were in truth to be wished that the corrupt Nature of Man did at no time fly out to Crimes so fatal and so destructive as Rebellion; which neither the menaces of having the Nation and their Religion extirpated, nor the Petition, to that effect, with some thousand hands to it, nor ^{See the Author's} the Lords Justices favouring the party that oppos'd the King, ^{more am-} nor any other kind of argument, could justifie in the Irish. ^{ple Ac-} But being Rebellion is a mischief that in all ages extended it ^{count from} Page 64. self to all the parts of the Earth; to prevent perpetual ^{to be} slaughter, and the entire desolation of Mankind, agreements ^{Page 104.} were admitted twixt Kings and their Rebellious Subjects, ^{where he} and allowed to be binding by the Law of Nations. ^{demon-} Of our Person of Quality may read the most Learned Hugo ^{unlawful-} Gratius (one of the reformed Church) in his Work *de jure bellici & pacis*. And thus I hope I have demonstrated that, ^{take A ms.} That which his Majesty calls forced, compelled, and necessitated, ^{against the} may stand with that which P. W: calls freely putting themselves ^{Maj: st ate} in any ^{treacherous-} ^{ginable.} into his Graces hands.

Grotius de Jure Belli. & Pac. c. 19. n. 6. Quid dicimus de subditorum bellis adversus Reges, alia(q; summas Potestates? His eramq; causam per se non iustam habebant, ius tamen per vim agrandi deesse ostendimus alibi (l. 1. c. 4.) Potest interdum Cruxia est aut causa iniustitia, aut resistendi improbitas, ut prauri gravi er posse. Tamen si quasi cum difectoribus aut rebelliis attum sic, nec a p. onissimo opponi ne potest, secundum ea que modo diximus. Nam & servi fidem se vendidit Vetus pietas existimat; credo Licedeminiis iram divinam expertos, quod Tenetenses servi contra pacem locci furent. El. 6, 7 E Disidius: Sciu'us l. 11. Notae fidem servi datum in favo Palicorum nunquam à quoquam Domina fuisse violata. Meus autem illai exceptione, & huc potest elidi interposito iurisperando; fucus Mar-cus Pomponius, Tribus plebis, iudejwandi obligatus servava quad. 2. M. 23. coetus promiserat.

25. And suppose I had not, but, on the contrary, had granted the Gentleman all the advantages his own heart could desire from my allowing a truth in that his charge, or allowing it in the whole Latitude of his meaning, that I had even granted the force had been such on his Majesty, and put on him by the Irish Confederates only, that he had had no internal, no moral freedom left, (at least *freedom* from those more violent kinds of coaction) and therefore no obligation on him to perform the Articles (which must be the final scope (as it was the great argument at first, of some of this Person of Qualities Partners at London against that Peace) of his repeating so many times, and in so many passages of his book that circumstance of compelled, forced, and necessitated:) will, I say, all this granted, prove those Articles were such as

Pag. 7. forced from his Majesty all the Regalia both Ecclesiastical and Temporal? (which this Gentleman says.) Not to give for answer that certainly this is both a bold Assertion, (which the printed Articles will convince of untruth) and a very unworthy Calumny with which the Duke of Ormond is aspers'd (who far from betraying his Master to that degree, or in any wise indeed, express'd abundantly his prudent care of his Majesties Honour and Interests in all his Transactions.) I will only demand of this Gentleman, whether the Guisian League in France forc'd from ~~Henry the third~~, all the Regalia both Ecclesiastical and Temporal? Or the Hugonots from ~~Henry the fourth~~? Or the Barons of England in *Magna Charta*, and *Carta de Foresta*, from King John and his Successors, all the said Royalties? If not, (as he must grant they did not) let him acknowledge the falsity of his Assertion, since it is apparent that the Articles of the Irish come short of these Agreements, in lessening or imposing on the Prerogative Royal: and that the French Kings, and English Monarchs after, notwithstanding a most Religious observance of the Articles of these Pacifications, have been very absolute, and never thought to have been deprived of either Ecclesiastical or Temporal Regalia.

26. What this Gentleman alleges next, wants but truth to make it a convincing Argument. For if we should allow that the Irish Catholicks by contempt, disobedience, and opposition,

opposition, broke those Articles, what benefit could they claim by them? But nothing can clear this so satisfactorily, as a faithful relation of what pass'd at that time upon that occasion.

27. The Prelates, and others of the Clergy, that met at James-town, by their Letters of the 20th. of August (and not in April, as is alleged) deputed the Bishop of Dromore, Pag. 9. and Doctor Charles Kelly, to bring a Message from them to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, the substance of which Message was reduced to writing by his Lordships command, and subligned by those that brought it; and was in effect under pretence of procuring aid from his Majesty for his distressed Subjects, to invite him to depart the Kingdom, *and to leave the Kings Authority in the hands of some Person or Persons faithful to his Majesty, and trusty to the Nation, &c.* In the neck of this, and without taking notice of the Answer the Lord Lieutenant sent them, that fatal Declaration Pag. 9, and Excommunication issued, in which, besides those set forth by this Gentleman, there are many strange Expressions, which if they could be proved to have proceeded from the Irish Catholicks, or their free Representatives whose publick acts (says this Gentleman) in all societies virtually, and interpretatively include all who declaratively oppose not, they might be justly charged with contempt, disobedience, and opposition to the King's Authority.

But I shall appeal to the Duke of Ormond, whom, without doubt, my Adversary will allow to be Judge without all exception in this case, who can inform (those that being pre-possessed with this Gentleman of Quality's so positive assertion, *That the Irish Papists did sign by declare their contempt of him, disobedience to him, and opposition against him,* will certainly have a curiosity to enquire) That in the general Assembly which concluded the Peace of 48, a select number of the Irish Nobility and Gentry were, by the common Vote of the Nation, appointed to be their Representatives, in relation principally to those things that concerned the Peace; That those Representatives were authorized by his Grace to exercise this trust; That they by themselves, or a Committee of them, did attend upon his Person

in the Camp, and in the several places where he did reside, to execute his Commands in order to that truit; That those Representatives were not only dissatisfied with such the proceedings of the Clergy met at James-town, but express'd their resentments of them in their Letter of the 24th. of October 1650. to his Excellency, in these words, *We know that by those Censures of the Bishops met at Jame-own, his Majesties Authority was invaded, and an unwarranted Government set up, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, and we are assured, that no Subject could be justly warranted by that Excommunication to deny Obedience to his Majesties Authority in your Excellency.* So as what I have alleg'd, being found true by so unquestionable testimony, certaily the Reader will have reaon to wonder that this Gentleman of Quality would impole that upon them for a general silence and submission of the body of the Irish Papistry, which was a disclaimer,

Pag. 11. and opposition of the Nation in general, if his own Maxim may take place, Fol. 13. *That in all Societies the publick act of free Representatives virtually and interpretatively includes all who declaratively oppose it not.*

29. Now let us consider with what Arguments he fortifies this ignorant, or voluntary mistake. The Declaration Pag. 10, (sayes he,) runs in the name of the Catholicks of Ireland. 11. Which ought not to be any convincing evidence of their general consent in an Age when publick use was made of the Kings name to engage his Subjects to fight against his Person. For an argument *ex post facto*, he asks, *Why did not the generality punish the transgressours?* This indeed had been a very compendious way to assist the Gentleman, and to assure us that the Irish Catholicks had broken the Articles. For how could they punish the transgressours, without reviving their Confederacy, and reasumming that Authority which they newly abdicated? And his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in whom that power was invested by his Majesties Commission, was himself content to sacrifice the bitter affronts he had received, to the advancement of his Majesties service, which he knew would suffer in that conjuncture by distraction and disunion. Thus we see the great battery this Gentleman rais'd, and the excursions and sharp

Pag. 11. clo'es

closes he makes, fallen to the ground, like some magnificent Palace of Cards, which some Child takes the pains to build, that is destroyed with the first puff of wind.

30. By this time, I hope the Reader is acquainted with this Gentleman's dexterity in commenting to the advantage of his own conceptions without regard to the sense of the Text, or the intention of the Writer.

31. I said that many thousand Protestants in the three Kingdoms have been farr more bainously Criminal both against his Majestie, and his Father of ever blessed memory, and have contributed or intended as little for bringing home his Majestie, as the most wickedly principled of the Roman Catholick Confederates of Ireland; and yet that all these Protestants are not only pardoned (except a few of the most immediate Regicides) but equalld in all Capacities with his Majesties most faithfull and approved Subjects. The fallacy, which this Gentleman makes use of to render this Comparison horridly odious, lies in the name Protestant, which he would have should extend no farther than those who have adher'd to the Liturgie of the Church of England. But because I find that the long and short Parliaments, that Cromwell and his brief Successors, that the Rump, the restor'd Members, and the Counsell of Safety in all their publick Transactions both at home and abroad, involve under that name all those that oppose the Catholick Roman Church, I give the name the same latitude; Otherwise I should have been most unjust to the Royal Party that upheld the Tenets of the Chirch of England, in the exercise, though clandestinely, and of the Rites of it, and conserved the Principles of that Loyalty which seemed to be a stranger in Israel. And if this Gentleman, following the Method of those that write solidly, had look'd narrowly into my words, and oppugned the most favourable interpretation that might be given them, he would have acknowledged that my intention was to set those Protestants apart, as the words themselves do demonstarate, and then have argued against me. For when I say that all the Protestants were not only pardoned, except a very few of the most immediate Regicides, but equalld in all Capacities to the most faithfull and approved Subjects, and since those that pass un-

Pag. 11

Pag. 12

der the title of most *faithfull and approved Subjects*, can in
 Pag. 12. no construction be taken for other than the *Royalists*, why
 would he confine my intentions to those *Protestants* whom I
 meant to exclude, and free those that were evidently the
 object of my discourse? It is true that *P.W.* cannot prove
 any of these many thousands thus wickedly principled to be a
Protestant: and it is as true that this Gentleman cannot deny
 but they pass'd under that notion, and that even the *Saints at Edgehill and Worcester*, gave themselves that name, and
 were esteemed to be such in common acceptation.

32. The Parliament of *England* hath gloriously vindicated
 the English Nation from the Crime of that execrable Par-
 icide, with which it was aspers'd; and that which was omitt-
 ed by the new Inhabitants of the Corporations in *Ireland*,
 hath, in testimony of their joy for the same, been solemnly
 performed by all the Cities, and most of the Towns in *Eng-*
land. *Cromwell* hath in a thousand opprobrious forms been
 executed in *Effigie*, and his name rendred as odious as the
 prime part he acted in that horrid Tragedy, could make it.
 Yet no man will say but *many thousands* did partake of the
 guilt, not as immediate Regicides, but as those that assist-
 ed, supported, and countenanced the Actors in it. And
 what vizard soever this Gentleman puts on the Crimes of the
Irish, unless he proves them to have concurr'd to this, he
 will, I hope allow me this guilt is not to be parallel'd.

33. The Parliament in *Scotland* hath in a noble manner
 done right to that Nation, and freed them from that base im-
 putation of having sold their King. Yet it will not be de-
 nied that many *thousands* of them were Criminal upon that
 accompt, not as the immediate Merchants, but as the Assis-
 ters, Supporters, and Countenancers of them. And this is a
 guilt, for which this Gentleman will not find a Parallel a-
 mong the *Irish*: as he will not for those horrid Oaths to
 maintain a new erected Government written in the blood of
 our late Sovereign, of ever happy memory, and to debar
 our new King and his Posterity from any access to the
 Crown; so solemnly and so frequently sworn by *many and*
many thousands in the three Dominions.

Pag. 12. 34. Must it be said then that *P.W.'s eye is evil*, or does he
 repint

repine at any grace conferr'd upon others , because he pretends a share in the Kings Mercy , and as an inducement thereunto , alleges that his Majesty has already conferr'd it on those who were more faulty ?

35. I believe this Gentleman is as ignorant of the *Popish Tenet of Merit* , as he is sollicitous to invent flaws in the *Pag. 13.* proceedingz of the *Irish* , and then to comment upon them : Our Saviour engages himself by promise , to bring us to his Kingdom , if we perform the will of his Father : and he gives us way to claim it , by virtue of that Promise , as our own right , although it be himself that gives us *vetus & agere*.

36. Here I must intreat the Reader , that in all passages where he finds mention of the *English Protestants* , he do remember with what fallacy my Adversary would circumvent him , and elude my intentions under the notion of that name . And in confidence that he will not forget how I disclaim in having spoken , or intending to speak hereafter any thing of the *English Protestant Royalists* , but with honour & applause of their resolute Loyalty , I proceed to those which this Gentleman calls *rational Inducements for his Majesty in the degrees Pag. 13. of his Grace to discriminate between the Irish Papists and English Protestants*.

1. I am most certain , that those who could best represent the hearty affections of the *English Nation* , would never consent to cast off his Majesties Authority ; and that as soon as the People in general , that for a long time stood amazed , and were astonished at these strange things which they saw acted , had recovered their Senses , and were free from the Fright which seized on them , they brought home his *Quality's induce- men's for his Maj- by to dis- ciminate , rectoried* . For let me speak it to their honour , that although many were instrumental , and the Duke of Albemarle eminently in performing that duty ; yet it was the People of *England* in general that did the work . The Banks of Power that were rais'd against the Sea of their affections began to shrink : And , as is said of Bees , it was known they were prepared to fight by their unusual humming ; King *Charles* began to be spoken of with reverence in the Market-place . They drank his Health in Taverns . No reproach from the Magistrate ,

no fear of the Laws of the Times could silence the Multitude. King Charles was prayed for in some Churches, and his Picture was sought for by all men.

Pag. 13. When this was observ'd, that which must have been done, was done in the most convenient manner. What is alleg'd against the Irish in the Comparison, is already abundantly refell'd, where we demonstrate, that the Representatives of that Nation opposed the proceedings of the Clergy at Jame-stow. And therefore this Gentleman might well have spar'd the rest of that Paragraph, with that quaint expression
 Pag. 13. of their banishing, and their Excommunicating his Majesty (in effigie) in his Vice-Roy.

37. 2ly. If those English Protestants submitted absolutely Pag. 13. and freely to his Majesty, they cannot deny that they deferr'd so doing too long, and did but their duty when they submitted. And if to obtain a promise from the King by Articles be so hainous a Crime in the Irish Catholicks, what share must they have, that forc'd, that compell'd, that necessitated his Majesty to do so? Who were the Contrivers, the Fomenters, and Maintainers of the late troubles spoken of in the Kings Declaration? Who were those that erected that odious Court for taking away the life of his dear Father?

Pag. 13. Let those English Protestants claim his Majesties Grace: because, sayes he, they submitted to his Majesty freely and absolutely: And let this Gentleman be contented the Irish Catholicks claim the Grace of his Majesties promise in the Articles of Peace, untill he brings more pregnant arguments to

Pag. 14. perswade the Reader that the foundation of them is dissolv'd on all parts. Those Articles are printed, and such as will read them, may find that they merit not the Character they receive from this Gentleman, as if by them the King had transferr'd all the Regalia both Ecclesiastical and Temporal, which is an Hyperbole of the first Magnitude. Yet if a nice judgement should find any thing less moderate in those concessions, who are most to be blam'd, either those that necessitated the King to grant them, or those that accepted them? And sure I am, it sufficiently appears out of his Majesties own words, in his fore-mentioned Declaration for the settlement of Ireland, that the force, compulsion, and necessity

necessity was put on him by those that erected that odious Court for taking away his Fathers life.

38. 34. The Irish repine not, that those English have been remitted their Forfeitures, and are in possession of their Estates; nor do they oppose the satisfaction set forth Pag. 14. by the Act of Parliament for the Adventurer, according to the intention of it.

39. 44. If the over powering of a People that fought by the Kings Commission against the Men, the Parse, and the Fleet of England, strengthened with the revolted Party that betrayed Cork, and the rest of his Majesties Towns and Forts in Munster, and assisted by Owen Ó'Neill, and his Army, shall be call'd a Conquest: those English Protestants can only be said to have been Conquerours in their turn. For the English Catholicks more than four hundred years before had planted the English Interest in all the parts of it, under a much more lawful Authority, than that under which those English Protestants prevail'd. And this Person of Quality in Ireland having made use of those Arguments which the Man in the dark in England gave in against me, concerning the incompatibility of these two Parties living together, and P. W. having disproved that Position by a long discourse in his former Reply, he will not trouble the Reader with Repetitions. This only I will add, that it is more probable those English Protestants that once held Anti-Monarchical Principles, should again assume them, than that the Irish Catholicks, who at all times express'd an aversion from them, should embrace them. And since both Parties fought at several times by his Majesties Commission, it is more probable that the Irish Papists, who fought longest in the dayes of His adversity, and against all extremities for his Interest at home, and stuck to him in his Banishment abroad, should have more hearty affection for his Person, and Royal Authority, than those Protestants so principled, that for a short time, and in the beginning of a War in a plentiful Country served his Father of ever blessed memory, and after deserted him; and still fought in favour of those that would exclude our sacred Sovereign, and his Posterity from all right to the Crown. But is it not strange, men should

should conceive, that an Act of Indempnity did warrant them to upbraid others for Crimes for which themselves were guilty in a higher nature? He should consider, that although the wounds be heal'd, the scars remain; which should at least silence his Invectives, when the Party he pleads for is not so generous as to say with *Dido*,

Virgil.

Hand ignara mali miseric succurrere disco.

Pag. 14. 40. 5th. It is true that Rebellions of particular men have been frequent in *Ireland*, and it is as true that the Catholick Natives have been very instrumental, not only in suppressing them, but in repelling forein Invasion. Now with what justice that can be imputed to a Nation as a mark of Infamy, which is the Crime of a few, is a thing which the men of *England* (where there have been heretofore many such defections) will be curious to enquire.

41. Here again this Gentleman mentions the year 1641. but I shall again deferr giving him any answer upon that subject, untill I come to that place where he discourses more amply of the beginning of the Rebellion.

Pag. 15. 42. 6th. Whensoever this Gentleman discourses of the Principles of Catholick Religion, he shews or makes himself ignorant of them, and he so confounds the Papal and Royal Authority in this Paragraph, as if we knew not which are the Keys, and which is the Sword. We give the Pope no Supremacy but in Spiritual affairs, and this Supremacy is of that nature, as it cannot dis-engage our Consciences from the Loyalty we owe to our Sovereign. And although our Remonstrance, Declaration, and Protestation upon this subject, printed not long since, hath left no room for such Cavills, yet we despair to stop the mouths of those that would establish this *alumny* for a truth; For some men are so strangely bent against Catholicks, as they would entertain the Multitude in this Error, and are much afflicted it should be known that Catholicks profess, and are directed by Loyal Principles.

Pag. 16. 43. Now as to the *Transplantation to Connacht and Clare*, laying aside the bitterness of the language in that Paragraph, and

and even ty'd with following this Gentleman in the way of his Methodical and Collegial discourse , I will only say, that all the Arguments with which he enforces it , cannot perswade the Reader , that men do that willingly , which if they omit to do, they must starve , or hang , or be sold as slaves (for willingness to do a thing, implyes it to be done, not however freely , but without such extreme violence.) Instances of these have been so frequent , and so often alleg'd , that this Gentleman is compell'd to change the Battery , and to say , *That although the force of the late horrid Usurpers constrain'd them to goe thither in person ; yet no force lay upon them to sue out Decrees, and obtain Possessions of Lands there, in lieu of their former forfeit'd Estates in the other Provinces.*

P. W's Conclusion maintained, or .
which is the same
thing, the Person of
Quality's Argu-
ments for continuing the Transplan-
tation rendered in-
signifiant.

44. It might perhaps be thought a full and satisfactory Answer to this Objection , that men in whose power it is to redeem their Wives and Children by suing out Decrees (there being no mean but that under Heaven for their relief) might be judged Murtherers of them , if they omitted so to do. But besides starving, if hanging be a sufficient excuse in this case , take the proof of this from the Law of the Times , the *Proclamation of Cromwell*, and his Council, Printed at Dublin by William Bladen , in the Year 1654. by their Order (in pursuance of an Act of Parliament , entituled, *An Act for the settlement of Ireland*) by which it is declar'd , that they do transplant themselves before the first day of March next ensuing , into the Province of Connacht , and County of Clare , accordirg to former Declarations , and address themselves to those that are there impow'red for that purpose , to take out their respective assignments for Lands , and proceed to build, and settle themselves there, and make provision for their Families; and this upon the highest penalty.

45. I now demand of our Person of Quality , whether this *Proclamation in Ireland* , and at that time it was published , should not rationally produce , as really it did , that kind of fear in the miserable Irish , which is called *minus ca- dens in virum constarem*? Whether there was any such in England , to force the Cavaliers to a Composition? Whe-

ther bargains forced by such fear, or ex mesu oadente in vi-
rump constantem, are not void in Law, or at least to be re-
scinded? And if our Person of Quality must answer the first
and last of these Queries in the affirmative, and the second
in the negative, as without any question he must; then must
it follow, that although the Cavaliers in England are not re-
lieved from their own Act of Composition, the Innocent
Irish, and others that articled, and had not after forfeited
those Articles, might in justice desire, and petition to be
relieved. And it must further follow, that his Majesties
words, alleged by this Gentleman (out of his Majesties
foresaid Declaration of the 30th. of November) did not sup-
pose, because his Majesty was not sufficiently informed of
the highest penalties to be inflicted on those would not ad-
dress themselves to take out their respective assignments of
Lands in Connacht, according to that Proclamation I have
related, nor consequently that kind of force which must have
rendred those acts of the Irish to be not their own, but the
Forcer's; I mean as to a conclusion of the enforced from
seeking any redress from the equity of the Laws, and from
the justice of the Prince restored to perfect liberty, and in-
formed throughly of the case. And therefore it must be like-
wise consequent, that P.W. cannot in reason be taxed with in-
solency, for having spoken his judgement hereof in his Letter,
or having said therein, That the Transplantation cannot be
continued on account of Crimes since 48. nor stand with the Ar-
ticles, or with the Equity of the Laws, much less with the Justice
of a Prince whom God hath restored to redeem the oppressed
from the yoke of Tyranny, to lead Captivity captive, and give
gifts to men. P.W. writ that Letter before his Majesties De-
claration was concluded. The Letter having been delivered
to the Duke about the end of October 1660. a whole month
before the date of the Declaration. And I am sure it would
not then, at least have seemed insolent to say, The Trans-
plantation of such of the Irish, as are either Innocents, or Ar-
ticlers, and such Articlers too, as never since the date of those
Articles, disobeyed, or declined his Majesties Authority, could
not be continued on account of Crimes since 48. nor stand with the
Articles, nor with the Equity of the Laws, much less with the
Justice of a Prince, &c.

46. Besides, P.W. can tell this Gentleman, that before the Declaration was made a Law, by the assent Royal given in Parliament, it could be no *insolency* to measure the Justice of our Person of Quality's Interpretation of it, by the ancient, known, Fundamental Laws of the Land, by those of Nations, and by the Dictates of Reason. And further, that as P.W. is not ignorant, how Laws are the sources of Right, and squares of Justice, and that new Laws may change the old, and render that sometimes very Just, which was very Unjust before, I mean, when the scope of the Law is the publick good, as it ought to be always; so he never intended, as he could not, other in that passage of his Letter, where he says, *The Transplantation cannot stand with the Justice of a Prince, &c.* but only to deliver his own judgement (concurring with all dis-interested persons) of that matter, as it was then whole and entire, or as the Prince was not then bound by any Declaration or Law to the contrary: And that if his Majesty hath otherwise declared since that time, and that his Royal intent, meaning, or purpose appear sufficiently by his Majesties own explanation of such passages of his Declaration, as are subject to divers constructions, or by that of those dis-interested Judges, whom his Majesty hath or shall appoint (not by this Person of Quality's too much byassed Exposition) P.W. shall with perfect resignation acquiesce, knowing that his Majesty rightly informed, and finally determining, is the Fountain of Justice to his Subjects; that he obliges all (even in Conscience) to a submission; and that as he hath no other Judge but God alone, so they cannot, without offending God, appeal from his Majesties ultimate sentence, if not to himself again, or by his permission, to his great Court of Judicature, a Parliament.

47. He adds the prefacing of two Petitions (whereof pa. 19, one was printed) to the Rump, by their publick Agents, 20, 21. Sir Robert Talbot Baronet, and Gerott Moore Esquire, to confirm their being satisfied with such Transplantation, and comments upon them, and the Titles, and addresses of them, after such a manner, as if at the end of every period, the Reader should have nothing to do, but to cry out, There needs

needs no more to be said. Yet for my part, I believe the Reader, were he to present a Petition to that Judicatory in those times, and in the distresses to which the Irish Catholicks were reduced, would have wanted words, rather than a will, to shew the lowness of his submission, and to magnifie the Grandeur of their Honours Piety, Justice, and all the Virtues they had not, in those Expressions with which their Votaries were wont to court the Pagan Gods. At what rate of good language, think you, would the People of Israel have bought from their Overseers the Straw which was denied them, to make up their task of Bricks? But in all this airy traffick, does any syllable fall from them to sooth those Hogen Mogens with Curses against the Tyranny of Charles the First, and against the Family of the Stuarts? Do those Petitions contain any Protestation, that the Government which those men did manage, was established upon grounds of Righteousness? As for the Printing of one of the Petitions, and the Elogies, I stood in the Crowd, when a smart Answer was given by Mr. Gerott Moore, at the Council Board, to a Nobleman, that belike hath printed somewhat of a higher nature than this concerning Cromwell, yet insisted very much upon the Title giyen the Rump in that printed Petition.

48. Now having allowed this Gentleman all the words himself could imagine to be in a Petition that was to be presented in the behalf of such Suters, to such a power (profane and disloyal expressions, whereof those Petitions are not guilty, always excepted) because I conceived the times and the parties might justify them, I thought I might have entirely freed myself from being engaged to return a particular answer to his excursions and repetitions, in order to that Subject; But who is it that can pass over these words

Pag. 25. of his? Those which now pretend to such Loyalty to his Majesty, voluntarily confess, that no execution was legal that was not derived from the Rump. Is not this implicitly, if not explicitly, an owning in the Irish Papists a legality of the Rumps power, even in the bloody murder of his Sacred Majesty, that being derived from those the Irish Papists call their Honours? To give this inference any foundation, we must derive it from

from such a sort of malice as blinds the judgement of the writer: The words in the Petition are these, *they do willingly acquiesce in the Transplantation, albeit it was not executed by any legal power, as not being derived from your Honours.* Can the sense of this be other, than that the execution of the Transplantation was illegal, because the power was not derived from their Honours? And perhaps they mean to claw them in that particular, because the Rump was the Rump of that Parliament to which the King had recommended the prosecution of the War in Ireland. Now to infer from this, as if they should have said, *that no execution was legal that was not derived from the Rump,* is certainly a consequence of too vast extent to be derived from so limited an antecedent. But who could imagine that any man in his right senses would have concluded thereupon, that this was implicitly, if not explicitly an owning in the Irish Papists the legality of the Rumps power, even in the bloody murder of his Sacred Majesty, that being derived from them the Irish Papists call their Honours?

49. Here is first to be observed, that the Petition says, *they do willingly acquiesce in the Transplantation, albeit it was not executed by any legal power.* This which of its own Nature is an execution in a Civil-matter, is converted to an execution upon a Scaffold. Moreover admitting his own words, that no execution was legal, that was not derived from the Rump, even this cannot prove his inference: For although we grant that no execution was legal that was not derived from the Rump; yet this concludes not, that all executions were legal that were derived from their Power. However, rather than fail, he would compel the Irish Catholicks to invest in the Rump a greater infallibility than they give the Pope.

50. But to say the truth, I think he believed the general negative, and the general affirmative were of equal extension. However, to undercieve him for the future, he may be pleased to read his Error in these Propositions and Inferences. No Executions are legal that do not issue out of the Kings Courts; therefore all Executions are legal that issue out of the Kings Courts. No man is a perfect States-man that hath not seen forein Countries, and known forein Affairs; therefore all men are perfect States-men that have

seen forein Countries , and known forein Affairs. No man goes to Heaven , but he that is baptiz'd ; therefore all men goe to Heaven that are baptiz'd. The Man in the dark in *England* was pleasd to entertain me with much bitterness : and this Gentleman of Quality in *Ireland* gives me this Logick to boot.

51. If all this do not satisfie this Person of Quality's very scrupulous Conscience against these Petitions , he is briefly answer'd , That the Transplanted Persons , and generality of *Irish Catholicks* , openly disown those Petitions , or any Commission from themselves , empowering , in that particular , those Gentlemen ; albeit , without any question , they being employed to petition against the Oath of Abjuration , and other Oppressions of their Countrymen (not to establish that of Transplantation) their endeavours even in this particular , as matters were then , proceeded from their desires to serve them . Neither doth the *continuance of these two Gentlemen* , since that time , in their publik employment for the *Irish Catholicks* , prove what this Person of Quality labours in the 22^h Page of his Book , or that all they did or do is by allowance or command from their Countrymen . It is well known the *Irish Catholicks* never gave them any such general power , much less a particular allowance or command for this , which indeed few or none of them either knew , heard , or thought of , untill some few did of late , by reading this Gentleman's Book .

52. Asfor other arguments made use of to answer my assertion concerning the Transplanted persons , they signifie nothing : Our Person of Quality has not yet proved the foun-

Pag. 16. dation of those Articles , and consequently the Articles themselves are thrown down by the Irish Papists . Nor hath he told us yet , what those many other Countries and Ages are that have formerly on less grounds used transplantation , and

Pag. 16. been justified therein as just and equal by Lawyers and Casuists . And no more has he told us , what these Lawyers and Casuists are , and whether , according to the Law of God , they could on less grounds justify the like Transplantation .

53. What this Person of Quality further sayes , or indeed objects in the first place , that my Conclusion (on this subject)

subject) without any proof, with the same facility as it is said may be gainsaid, is answered, That my Letter in general being written to the Duke of *Ormond*, who concluded, and well remembred the Conditions of the Peace, and the obseruance of it with much affection by some hundreds, at least if not thousands of the Transplanted persons, my afferation in particular, that such could not be deprived of the benefit of the Articles, or their Transplantation continued upon accownt of Crimes after 48. needed no proof to him, or indeed to any other that knew the affairs of *Ireland*.

54. Concerning Corporations, my request discriminates the Innocent from the Nocent. Although that in a time when his Majesty, out of the abundance of his goodness, makes it his glory to out-goe all his Predecessours in a profusion of Mercy, I seek a share for them likewise in the general dole. And then I descend to those persons that have been Innocent in the most guilty of them. For those I claim as of justice his Majesties Grace, and the benefit of the Articles, as I do for the generality of those other Corporate places which offended not against the Peace of 48. And I am still of opinion, if I may be aga'in permitted to speak out of my element, that no reason of State could exclude them, even, although there were no matter of Conscience in the Case. For if the Kingdom be to be enriched with traffick, and that encreasing of the publick wealth be a principal point of State-policy, it is evident that most of the Corporations of *Ireland* are grown despicably poor by excluding the Natives from free commerce and traffique, and that the little life which is yet preserv'd in negotiation, is mainta'ned by the trade they drive as Factors to those that live in those Corporations. Other arguments I omit at this present, being ready nevertheless to give them, when it shall be thought necessary; with answers to all objections, which this person shall or can make, even, on this subject.

55. Had I stood up to justifie *Limerick*, *Waterford*, or *Galway* in their affronts done to his Majesties Lieutenant of *Ireland*, I could not be upbraided with a more severe expostulation than this is, *What falsehood will P. W. be afraid to suggest?* Pag. 30.

gess to strangers ; and what wickedness will he be afraid to patronize at home , when he shall dare thus to assert to the Lord Lieutenant himself , and publish it in print to the world , that no reason of State can accord with the dictates of a good Conscience to exclude these Corporations ? But when I avow them Criminal , and beg mercy for them , not by extenuating their guilt , but by alleging the examples of his Majesties unbounded goodness , why will this Writer vent his malice to the Nation , by rayling at me in terms unworthy a Person of Quality ? Nay wherefore doth he charge me with asserting or publishing that which I never did ? with that which the clear text or discourse on this subject in my Letter , convinces manifestly I did not ? And that you Reader may be Judge between me and this Person of Quality , without any further trouble to your self than to read here a few Lines , I give the whole Paragraph , well nigh , wherein I treated of this matter . But withall (my Lord) I will give your Excellence my most earnest and humble desires , that you delay no longer than shall be necessary , to clear these clouds of darkness , and clear them in this present conjuncture by an effectual demonstration of that justice and favour you intended the Catholicks of Ireland in your Articles of 48. when they so freely put themselves , and their power , into your hands . I am not ignorant that some have after transgressed in a high nature : But you know , my Lord , there are many thousands of Protestants in the three Kingdoms , who have been far more hainously criminal , both against his Majesty , and against his Father of blessed memory , and who have contributed , or intended as little for bringing home his Majesty , as the most wickedly principled of the Roman Confederates of Ireland . And we all know , my Lord , that all the Protestants are not only pardoned (except a very few of the most immediate Regicides) but equall'd in all capacities with his Majesties most faithfull and most approved Subjects . Yet if these unfortunate Catholick transgressors must be alone in this general Jubilee of the three Nations , held unworthy to rejoice at the Kings restoration ; if they alone , besides their most grievous and unparalleled sufferings under Tyranny these eight or nine years past , must anew suffer , and yet a more heavy judgement , under the most Clement Prince on Earth ; if they alone must experience

perience all the rigour of his Laws and Judicatures for their Offences after the Peace of 48. (which Offences, however criminal, were not bloody) your Excellence may be nevertheless pleased to consider the transplantation cannot be continued on any such accompt, nor on any other, which may stand, either with those Articles, or with the Equity of the Laws, and much less with the Justice of a Prince whom God hath restored to redeem the oppressed from the yoke of Tyranny, to lead Captivity captive, and give gifts to men. And your Excellence may be further pleased to consider, that the Corporations generally, cannot be excluded on this account, nor on any other, may stand with his Majesties gracious Concessions in those Articles. Neither do I think there can be any Reasons of State may accord with the Dictates of a good Conscience to exclude them.

56. I now demand of any that understands English or Sense, whether Limerick, Waterford, and Galway, all three, or even any of these three, must be understood there where I lay, *That the Corporations generally cannot be excluded on this account* (that is, on account of Crimes against the Articles of 48.) or on any other may stand with his Majesties gracious Concessions in those Articles? Or when I say, that I do not think there can be any Reasons of State may accord with a good Conscience to exclude them? And whether this word, *them*, demonstrates not, and relates not here to the Generality of Corporations, but by no means to the particulars of Limerick, Waterford, and Galway? Or indeed to any other Criminal Town whatsoever, if any other such be? And without question, there are a hundred Irish Corporations, which are not to this day charged with any such guilt, and which I then did think (when I writ that Letter) as I do still, cannot be charged on that account: And therefore on that account not to be excluded: and consequently, and for many other obvious reasons, are such, as I must then have thought, *no Reasons of State could accord with a righteous Conscience to exclude them*. But what hath all this to do with Galway, Limerick, and Waterford? Is it not a manifest abuse of the Reader to leave out the word *Generally*, where he should not, if he had sincerely quoted my words in the 28. Page of his Book? where he treats of the guilt of P. 13. 8.

Corporations, and charges P.W. with saying indefinitely
the Corporations cannot be excluded on that account; whereas
P.W. says no such thing, but another very different,
in these terms, *The Corporations generally cannot be excluded,*
&c. And I am sure this is a true Proposition, yea notwithstanding the inexcusable transgressions of Galway, Li-
merick, and Waterford, or any other; and even as true as
it is, that the People of *England generally*, desired the
Kings Restoration, when this Person of Quality, and his
Consorts, did not. But our cunning Sophister did foresee,
that the word, *generally*, added by me, would, if rehers-
ed by him, render three whole Pages of his Book impert-
inent. For admit all his charge aganst those three Cities,
were true in the whole latitude of it, and in every particu-
lar, as I fear it is in too much; could he therefore conclude,
that the *Irish Corporations generally* had been Criminal aganst
the Peace of 48? Surely three, and three, and three
more added to help him, do not argue the *generality* of
more than a hundred, or do not falsifie my Proposition,
that, notwithstanding the Crime of so few particulars, ex-
empts the *generality* of so great a number from that Crime.
Yet he must proceed with his malicious impertinent Narra-
tive, and having vented all his Choler against the miserable
Survivers and Heirs of the dead in these three Towns, he
must demand, as in triumph, *What falsehood will P.W. be
afraid to suggest to strangers, and what wickedness will he be
afraid to patronize at home, when he dares thus to assert to the
Lord Lieutenant himself, and publish it in print to the World,
that no Reasons of State can accord with the Dictates of a good
Conscience to exclude these Corporations from the future capacity
of repealing such signal Acts of Rebellion?* If this be other than
a meer Leger-deain of words, and an illusion of eyes, and
a plain imposture of sense, and words, and even of inten-
tion too, may all Strangers and Patriots believe him against
me! But if it be, may the suggestion of falsehood, and pa-
tronage of wickedness be his reward, and a reproach returned
upon him by all men, both at *home* and *abroad*! And be
thou, Reader, here likewise, as above, an impartial
Judge. Doth not he change the sentence, alter the sense,
foist

foist in these instead of them, add to, and impose on me all that follows in that period, quite contrary to my words, to the obvious meaning of them, and to the very thoughts of my soul, abundantly there, and soon after expressed, where I speak thus, *Nevertheless (my Lord) farr be it from my thoughts to desire the obstruction of any lawful and honest course, can be justly taken to secure the Peace of that Country from rational dangers, if any such can be in our dayes from the Catholique Natives?* And is it not therefore as manifest, that he charges me without any ground, but his own groundless perverse construction, with *exclaiming insotently against his Majesties Royal proceedings*, in the particular of these Towns, as unjust, unequal, and such as cannot accord with the dictates of a good Conscience? The word *unjust*, or even his sense of it, cannot be found in all my Letter. And for that of *unequal*, it is so used by P. W. and only in relation to an equal distribution, not of Justice, but of Mercy, becoming the most merciful of Princes, that it is manifest, this Gentleman of Quality abuses not P. W. alone, but himself too, and the Reader. Whereof I give here the full evidence. For after I had, from the special regard of God, to save one just man that was found in *Sodoms*, and from his readiness to forgive the whole *Pentapolitan Region* for ten such men of justice, nay for one alone to pardon *Jerusalem*, when most Criminal, and by his revenging justice designed to a general desolation; and after I had from these arguments of Gods mercy proceeded to his Majesties imitation of Him in pardoning all the Protestant Criminal Cities in his Dominions, and then demanded, whether so Merciful a Prince would not pardon the miserable remainders of one poor Catholick Town, or two, or three at most, if perhaps there have been so many that have any way offended; and after I had further adjoyned, that whatever the Crime of these Towns have been, it had been, these many years past, sufficiently punished, and had been, even of the most Criminal of them, incomparably less, than what may be charged on most of his Majesties Protestant Cities; and that I was sure, there had been in the very worst of them, and in the most disobedient, more than fifty (the greatest number

ter Abraham proposed for obtaining mercy to Sodom) just men (said I) to his Majesty , and his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant : And after I had , in prosecution of my discourse , asked , what besides could render these Towns unfit objects of his Majesties Mercy , if not , perhaps , their Religion ; which yet , being so Christian , and allowed by Articles , could be no exception . After all this (I say) this other passage immediately follows , whence our Person of Quality takes his ground , to lay to my charge , that I task his Majesty with unequal proceedings , Yet if notwithstanding all this , the few and miserable Survivers and Heirs of the dead in the general desolation , must suffer again , under his Royal Justice , I beseech you , my Lord , let not the Battles of Sylla and Marius , let not their general Proscriptions , or Confiscations be renewed on this occasion , or affixed in the Courts and Judicatures of the British Monarchy . Let not these bright dayes of universal joy , be rendered to the Irish Catholick alone , dark , sad , and dismal ; Nor let these dayes be infamously memorable to posterity for a distinction so unequal . Behold Reader , whence this Person of Quality takes his arguments , to charge me with exclaiming insolently against his Majesties Royal proceedings , as unjust and unequal . Can indeed a prayer , and such a prayer , and in such a mood (if I may so speak with Grammarians) and to the then Marquess of Ormond , and a prayer made before the King had determined any thing concerning these Corporations , or settlement of Ireland , be an insolent exclamation against his Majesties proceedings , which then had no being at all ?

57 As for the remainder of this charge , that I should have no less insolently exclaimed against his Majesties Royal proceedings , in relation to these guilty Corporations : Or that I should have said , His Majesties proceedings against them to be such , as cannot accord with a good Conscience , I have already answer'd , that he finds no such thing in my Letter , since my words and sense of them relate only to the obedient Corporations , and such as had no way transgressed the Articles of 48 . And now further add , as to that expression of my judgement then concerning these , that whatever his Majesty hath since determin'd , it can argue no exclaiming insolency .

lency in a Letter which preceded the knowledge and existence of any such determination. Besides, that I cannot believe yet this Gentleman's interpretation of his Majesties Act of Settlement, or (which is the same thing) that his Majesties meaning is, to exclude these obedient Corporations from a Plea of Justice, in pursuance of their Articles: as neither those good men of even *Galway*, *Limerick*, and *Waterford*, that no way concurred to the transgressions of the (sometimes) prevailing, either malignant or inconsiderate Party in them.

58. Even my harmless *peradventure* must not pass without some unfavourable reflection from this Gentleman, as if it should have related to all the three guilty Corporations, or as if I had doubted, whether any one of them had been guilty. Whereas in truth, it must not import in any equal construction, not even to the most rigorous Logician, Grammian, or Lawyer (considering what goes before, and follows after) any more than some doubt, or some scruple about some one of the three, granting the other two without any contradiction guilty. And that one, *P. W.* ingeniously confesses to have been *Galway*. And the reason of his Doubt or scruple then concerning this Town (which occasioned the addition of that wary *peradventure*) to have been, that he had not then had from such hands as he could wish, or could rely upon the perfect relation of that Towns carriage, since 48. towards my Lord Lieutenant, or the Marques of *Clarendon*. But whatsoever it was, nay whatever that of *Waterford*, or *Limerick* either, has been, and however the evidence of their transgressions amount to much more than *P. W.*'s. *peradventure*, yet is it very untrue (what this Gentleman further asserts) that the subject reacheth much farther than *P. W.*'s. two or three Corporations: Or that the highest Acts of Treachery and Rebellion have been the general practice of all such into which his Majesties Lord Lieutenant desired admission. But his tongue is no slander, as the Proverb is; especially since he neither doth fix, nor (as I believe) can fix upon (even any) one more since the Peace of 48. For if he should instance any other before that, his allegation would be impertinent

against me, even as to such, or to overthrow the Articles of that Peace. And I say moreover, that whatever the transgressions of the said three, and, if you please, add three more, disobedient Corporations have been, I am sure they amount not to the Crimes of those other Towns, possessed, even at that time in *Ireland*, and ever since the beginning of the Wars to this very day, by *English* Protestants (such, I mean, as went under that Notion) which a Person of as great Quality as this Gentleman, either concurred with, or induced to manifest Rebellion, and inex-
cusable Treachery (both without any comparison surmounting the transgressions of *Galway*, *Limerick*, and *Waterford*) even to fall away openly from his Grace, and from his Ma-
jesty, and turn professed Enemies to both, even to declare for *Cromwell*, and the long Parliament, and receive in their Forces, long before *Galway*, *Limerick*, and *Waterford* can be said to have been guilty of any of the transgressions, true or false, charged upon them; and even (I say) to receive those Enemy-Forces without any kind of necessity; nay to declare for them, even before they had seen an Enemy come within sixscore miles of them, nay to have made their bar-
gain with them before *Cromwell* set his foot on *Irish* ground. And I am yet further certain, that however *Waterford*, *Li-
merick*, and *Galway* transgreſſed, their guilt cannot in ju-
stice render the generality of other Corporate places guilty, nor consequently forfeitable; much less the generality of the Catholick people, or Proprietors of Estates in *Ireland*. Nay not even the faithful honest Inhabitants of those very Towns (I mean *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Galway*) or such Inhabitants of them (I say) as were not guilty of the Crimes committed by their fellow-Citizens; Unless (peradven-
ture) this Person of Quality can evince, that the Laws in-
volve the Innocent with the Nocent; and that a good King doing Justice to his People (not by the Sword drawn, or Cannon charged, or Legions marshall'd, assaulting a Rebel-
lous Town, or Men in Armes, but by the Laws, and Judges, and other Civil Ministers of Justice) ought not to discriminate 'twixt the just and the wicked: Or unless he can maintain, that Kings may, without injustice, confiscate all

all Cities, Towns, and even whole Kingdomes, where any Disobediences, Contempts, Plots, Conspiracies, or Rebellions, may be truly charged on some of their fellow-Citizens, or Countrymen: Or that his Majesty (whom God preserve from the unjust Contrivements of this Person of Quality's *good Subjects*) could, upon his Restoration, or before he was restored, entertain, without injustice, a resolution to deprive all the honest Loyal Party of *London*, *Bristol*, &c. nay all those were faithful to him, and his Father, in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, of their Estates.

59. When I say that the hand of God hath punish'd them (to wit, the refractory Cities of *Limerick*, *Waterford*, and *Galway*, and other such, if indeed any other hath been such) but (says this Gentleman) *that the Magistrate* Peg. 30.
should spare because God punishes, is a non sequitur. Though the Lord sent Hornets before Israel, to drive out the Hivite, and Canaanite, and Hittites, yet he commands Israel to destroy those Nations, and their name from under Heaven. And although this be true, is it not a non sequitur, that the Magistrate is bound to destroy them, because God punishes them? Will he not leave in his Majesties power to be merciful? And will he not give me leave to intercede for the poor remains of those Citizens whom God was pleased to spare, to the end, perhaps, that the goodness of our Sovereign might be magnified in their deliverance? And certainly himself must grant that Law given to the *Israelites* for extirpation of the *Hittites*, &c. must not extend to the destruction of any other People, and that it binds not any Christian Prince or People.

60. I profess I am ignorant of what this Gentleman Peg. 31. means by the Sin of Apostacy in the *Irish*; if he means the Catholicks generally, with relation to the Peace of 48. and I believe it was only mentioned to bring in *Lots Wife*, and the *Pillar of Salt*, into which, his whole discourse makes it very probable, he could wish every *Irish* Catholick turned, that would look back either upon City or Country. But however this be, he was very ill advised, to make the Reader, or *P.W.* reflect on the known, undeniable, reiterated,

iterated *Apostacy* of even a Person of Quality of this Gentleman's own good people, even before and after the year 48.

Pag. 31. 61. This Gentleman allows me, that God delivered just *Lot*, yet that he transplanted him to *Zoar*, and that even so the King has provided a *Zoar for the Innocent*, whether their souls may escape and live: And I say, that if his Majesty had not provided that *Zoar* for more company than the Innocent, it would be very thin set with thole his English Protestants. Besides, that if he would have his Example parallel in all things (as himself, though unreasonably, would have mine of the *Gibeonites* to be) he should have told his Majesty, that all the Cities, Towns, and Villages of the *Irish* should be destroyed, razed even from the very foundations, and the Land it self rendered uninhabitable to Catholick or Protestant, or Man or Beast, even as farr as *Zoar*, and as much as the anger and revenge of man could effect.

Pag. 31. 62. As it is his Majesties part to provide for securing the Peace of the Kingdom, so it is my part to pray, that no Sword be put into the hands of any, that from their heart do not think themselves obliged in Conscience to maintain Monarchical Government, the Birth right of our Sovereign, and the Interest of his Crown.

Pag. 32. 63. Alwayes when there is speech of Catholick Tenets, this Gentleman stumbles unhappily. For where he sayes, *The Doctrine of Regicide is common in the Roman Schools*, he mistook them for the Schools of *Geneva*, and of those of their Principles. Had he but enquired, he might have learn'd, that the Doctrine of Regicide among Catholicks is heretical, and so declared by a general Council, even that of *Constance* I mean; though this Gentleman may therefore except against the Fathers there.

Pag. 32. 64. From their Doctrine thus mistaken, he descends to prove them *Regicides* in fact, by the same arguments that would conclude all Rebels that ever have been to be *Regicides*: for sure such Rebels must set up a distinct Government, for by the Laws of the Government they deserted, they must have been hang'd; and sure such Rebels did not fail

to magnifie their Jurisdiction , and give Laws to their Party to avoid confusion . Yet in so many thousand years , no man , besides this Writer , found out the way to make them Regicides . But what Royal Peculiars the Irish Papists ushop'd , Pag. 32. that might make them so Criminal beyond others , never came to my knowledge . They neither used Scepter , nor Sword , nor Cap of Maintenance , nor Mace ; the Kings Armes were not cut in their Seal : nor did they conterr honours on any . And this Gentleman , that speaks so much of extending the Jurisdiction of their Government throughout Ireland , might do them right , to let the Reader know that precedent to that Article , in their Model of Government , this Irish Mod-
is inserted , Item , That all and every person or persons with- del of Go-
in this Realm , shall bear Faith and true Allegiance unto our verment .
said Sovereign Lord King Charles , by the Grace of God Kng
of Great Britain , France , and Ireland , His Heirs and law-
ful Successors : And sh Uphold and maintain His and Their
lawful Rights , and lawful Prerogatives , with the uttermost skill
and power of every such person and persons , against all manner
of persons whatsoever .

65. Among the many particular Observations with which I have , and shall be hereafter forced to charge the memory of the Reader , I beg of him , that he be so just , as not to allow this Gentleman to calumniate the Nation for the Crimes of particular men : And , when he repeats , even to tediousness , the same thing , nor to expect from me a reiteration of the same answer . Here he sayes again , and as untruly as before , that the Irish Papists did distrust , disobey , oppose , and excommunicate the Lord Lieutenant ; and this Pag. 33. upon no other ground , than that the Clergy of James-town did so : when I have prov'd before out of his own Doctrine of free Representatives , that the Nation opposed their proceedings . Again he sayes , that the Irish Papists did conspire Observe
Reader ,
that the
Person of
Quality

never once mentions the Bishops convened at James-towns , nor James-towns it self ; not out of any desire to conceal or pass over that un-Bishop-like Error of theirs , But of purpose to delude thee , and make it seem a general Act of the whole Nation , which was only the Transgredion of a few Prelates .

Pag. 33. to murther the Lord Lieutenant, or, which is worse, to deliver him to the worst sort of Murtherers, that is to Cromwell, whom perhaps this Gentleman served at that time, when he himself ^{Fol. 30.} ascribes this delign only to the Citizens of Waterford. If Arguments of this nature be admitted, I can prove by the same Logick, that his Majesties Army, under the Command of the Duke of Ormond, was defeated at the Battel of Rosse, in the year 43. for it is certain, that some did shrink, and would have been guidid in their retreat at any rate; Therefore the Army ran away.

Pag. 33. 66. I was astonisht to find, that this Gentleman, because I writ, that when England, Scotland, and the Protestants of Ireland, wholly deserted the Royal Cause, the Irish Catholicks fought against the Regicides, in defence of his Majesties Rights, should break out into so immoderate passion against me. And asking of some Friends, whence they conceived this should proceed, I was told by one of them, better versed in the propriety of English words than I am, that the words, *to desert*, in English, are alwayes taken in a bad sense, and among Souldiers, signifie commonly, not only a desisting from action, but a joyning with the Enemy; which, I protest, was not, nor in truth could be my meaning, I say in relation to those Protestant Royalists, that, having past unblemish'd through all tryals, and being overpow'red, and seeing no way (under Heaven) left them to maintain the most just Cause, which they endeavoured through all extremities to assert, *deseruerunt causam*; gave it over, and laid down Armes. And this and no other being the sense I intended that assertion should carry, I believe this Gentleman himself will say, the Irish Catholicks were the last in the three Dominions that laid down Armes, and gave over to fight for the Royal Cause. And it may be that he himself is a witness beyond all exception in the case, since perhaps he might have assited to take in Limerick and Galway; after which sieges there was no further exercisces of that kind given to Cromwell, and his Associates, anywhere, in favour of his Majesties interests. And this truly this Irish Papist dares speak in the light of Heaven, how bitter severly this Person of Quality is pleased to be against him, both

in his expressions and silence. And yet further can tell both him and others, that since he is loath to call me *Rebel* (as he sayes) I am no less him; though if the arguments to prove me a *Rebel*, and those may be alleged for his having been such, were put in equal ballance, his side would perhaps outweigh, not only a thousand, but even ten thousand to one.

67. Now setting apart (as I always do) the Protestant Royalists of *England* and *Scotland*, and those of *Ireland*, who know and will aver, that they were dismiss'd where the *Irish* Catholicks prosecuted the War against the Regicides; under the Lord Lieutenant and the Marquess of *Clanrickard* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, I will proceed to give the Reader a more faithfull Narrative of the actions of those times. As for the *Irish* Papists their being *Regicides* themselves, *at least so far as conspiring to murder his Majesty in effigie at Waterford, &c.* These are but flourishes that may *muse* the ignorant, but will not satisfie the judicious Reader.

68. King Charles the First, of happy memory, having been forced, during the late troubles in the year 1643, to make a Ceilation of Armes with his *Irish* Subjects, the Covenanted Party of the *Scots* in *Ulster*, and some of the *English* both in *Ulster* and *Connacht* that adhered to them, paying no Obedience to his Majesties Authority, by which it was concluded, continued their Acts of Hostility, and found employment both for the Armes of the *Irish* Catholicks in them parts, and those whom the Lord Lieutenant authorized to joynto suppress them, while the Party in *Munster* for some time submitted to his Majesties Commands in accepting the Ceilation, and in that space of time sent over Forces to his assistance; following therein the Lord Lieutenants directions and examples, who shipp'd from *Dublin* upon that occasion the greatest part of his Army under his command to *Leinster*.

69. It is certain, that both *English* and *Irish* were engaged by duty to transport their Armes into *England* for his Majesties assistance; but to say, that the *Irish* were engaged by *Articles to do the same*, is a meer fiction, and the more not

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table , that at this time , the clamour the Kings Enemies in *England* had raised against Popery , and his Majesties countenancing of it , was so great , as particular persons of that profession could scarce find admittance to serve in his Majesties Army . At length those English Protestants in *Munster* , in the Month of June 1644. upon pretence of *Plots* and Machinations against them by the Irish Catholicks , whereof to this day no proof was produced , nor in that time any colour alleged , without informing the chief Governor of the Kingdom , or giving him the least intimation of their resolutions , deserted the Royal Cause ; and thence after , untill the year 48. fought under the banner of his Majesties Enemies , and were enlisted in their pay .

Pag. 35. 70. I cannot blame this Gentleman , that he seeks good company for those whom he meant to patronize , and would rank them with those under the Lord Lieutenants immediate Command in *Dublin* , who near upon four years after , having seen two Armies of the Confederates , under the Command of the Nuncio , near the City , fearing a second attempt , having had their quarters entirely destroyed , obeyed his Majesties command , in giving up *Dublin* , and the rest of the Garrisons to the Parliament . To make the parity reach home , the party in *Munster* should have attended the commands of a lawful power ; and although they have obeyed necessity , and laid down their Armes ; yet it had been their duty , as Subjects , and Soldiers , to have behaved themselves as did the generous Officers at *Dublin* , who neither sued for , nor accepted employment under the Enemy . And I may well say , that this their defection was fatal to his Majesties interest in *Ireland* ; for had they kept themselves in a condition to joyn with the rest of the English Protestants in the Peace which was concluded in the year 46. the confusion , which was introduced by the breach of it , had been prevented , and *Owen v' Neill* had wanted strength to countenance that rupture .

Pag. 36. 71. In the Year 48. the Lord of *Inchiquin* having been advertized out of *France* of the resolution taken again to engage the Lord Lieutenant in the service of *Ireland* , and the Supreme Council of the Confederates having received the same

same advertisement, both readily condescended to a Cessation of Armes in order to the Peace which was to follow. And the Lord of Inchiquin, who, with wonderful dexterity, managed that affair, maugre the opposition of some of the Officers, prevail'd with the Army under his Command to declare for the King. And it cannot be denied that they proved very useful in the Cause, as well in the prosecution, as after in assisting to take in Drogheda, Dundalk, and other Garrisons kept by the Enemy, after the conclusion of the Peace. But the defeat at Rathmynes, and the landing of Cromwell, made them think of bettering their fortunes, by siding with the more successful Party. And their Fellows having already betrayed the Garrisons intrusted to them, to Cromwell, those that remained in the Army, when they found opportunity, stole away to them. And I appeal to the English Protestant Officers of Leister, that continued invincibly fixt in their Principles of Loyalty, whether those be not the men, upon whom they kept a watchful eye at Thomas town, when Cromwell past the Barroe? And whether they, and the Irish Officers, did not shong about the Person of the Lord Lieutenant, when he went to their quarters, to prevent his Excellencies being carried away Prisoner to the Enemy, Whereof the fear was the common discourse of all men? But this Gentleman changes the Guards, and would persuade us, that the Protestants, for preservation of their lives, were forced to keep as strict Guards against the Irish Papists, as against Cromwell. Which is a notorious Calumny, as the Lord Lieutenant, and the Leister Protestant Officers can testify; unless this Gentleman intends, that bickerings about quarters, and animosities between particular men, which are frequent in the best regulated Armies, of the same Nation, should pass for acts of hostility, and unquestionable grounds of a general distrust.

72. From the year 48 until the year 60, those this Gentlemans Protestants did indeed swim down the stream, and partake in the astings, and of the rewards of Cromwell. But then they did what became them, and merited a most benign interpretation from his Majesty of the duty which they

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Pag. 37. had so early and so eminently performed. Yet let us not wholly deprive the people of *England* of the good effects of that influence, which their so publick expressions of their affections to the King, had upon *Ireland* likewise. And for the honour of those be it spoken, who with Oars and Sails made their way up the River, and would not hear of any restriction to be put upon the King, that all their fellows left not the Stream as willingly as they came to it; and that in the convention some men have been heard to speak of other matters than of bringing in the King free and unfettered.

Pag. 38. 73. Although this Gentleman should be so indulgent to those *English* Protestants, as to endeavour to perswade us they were but *Rebells* *seemingly*; Yet I am sure he cannot have the confidence to say, but that they, who imbruad their hands in the blood of those that avowedly, and under his Majesties authority fought for his Interests, who besieged his Cities and Forts, and took his Ships at Sea, over-acted their parts.

Pag. 38. 74. Here again he repeateth expelling the Kings Authority by the *Irish* Papists, and takes the liberty to compare the actions of both parties, and favour those he pleads for with the best part of that, which is all but supposition.

Pag. 39. 75. But at length he is come to an experiment; and against an experiment (says he) there is no argument, and he constitutes my Lord Duke of Ormond himself the Judge. So as the Reader may well think there remains nothing but a definitive sentence to be given. In the year 1650 (says he), when it came in question which were the worst, the Irish Papists, or the seduced Protestants, he permitted all the worthy Protestants, which till then had served under him, to come off to the rest of the Protestants, though then headed with Ireton himself, esteeming them safer with that real Regicide so accompanied, than with those pretended Anti-Regicides so principled.

79. Had not the Reader already been acquainted with the nature of those inferences which this Gentleman frequently makes, sometimes upon illusorie, sometimes upon false grounds, This, which he calls an Experiment, might have past for a Judgement in the Case: Since the *Irish* Catholicks

thoicks are ready to acknowledge all for a truth, which his Grace the Duke of Ormond shall relate of their proceedings. But to unriddle the mystery of this *Experiment*, it will be necessary we should know the truth of the story, and thus you have it. After the revolted Party in Munster had rendered Cromwell Master-of that Province; and that (to use the Duke of Ormonds own words) for want of due compliance from Limerick and Galway, but principally from Limerick, it hath been impossible for us to raise or employ an Army against the Rebels; for to attempt this any where on the other side of the Shanon, but near Limerick, and without the absolute command of that City to secure it, could be no other than the very certain ruine of the design in the very beginning of it, the Rebels power being such, as to dissipate with ease the foundation which should be laid there: And to have done it on this side of the Shanon, was impossible, since the ground-work of the Army must be raised and supported from thence, which, whilst it was in forming, wold have exhausted all the substance of these parts, and not have effected the work: After (I say) the Lord Lieutenant was brought to these straits, and that the difficulties were increased by the unhappy Censures of James-town, his Lordship resolved to leave the Kingdom, hoping the distractions which sprung from that fatal *Excommunication*, might be appeased by giving them a Catholick Governour. And, fearing the success of a War managed by a powerful prevailing Enemy, he dismissed the English Troops before Ireton knew of his design of leaving the Kingdom, or the weakness of his condition; that so their coming off might be the more acceptable, and the agreement to be made with them, the more advantagious; and that for these Reasons. First, To satisfie their own earnest desires, that would not willingly serve an' other Conduct than his own. Secondly, All the regular wayes of maintaining the Army must have been clear laid aside, the Charges being far greater than the Taxes and Contributions would satisfie: and the English, besides their being unacquainted with that Province, had no inclination to that course the Soldier was necessitated to take for his subsistence, nor his Excellency to put them upon it. Thirdly, The Lord Lieutenant might

sight-fear, that if the *English* had to the last gasp continued in Armes, with the *Irish*, such their perseverance would be accounted an obstinate willfulness, and an unnatural inclination in them of adhering to so hated a Rebel-party, against their Countrymen; and that upon the upshot they might have received harder measure than the *Irish* themselves. Fourthly, His Excellency might have considered, that their Parents and Kindred, and those that would assist to maintain them, upon laying down Armes, were, either in *England*, or in those parts of *Ireland*, possest by the Enemy. Lastly, He might have considered, that so faithful a Party, as they were, being dispers'd, might be able to have made some impression upon that humour of many among the Rebels that had least rancour in it, and have prepared the minds of men for the day of tryal, whensoever God was pleased to give the occasion. And it is not to be doubted, that some amonxit them were fully inistructed how to proceed in order to his Majesties service.

Pag. 39. 77. And now this Gentleman must give me leave to say, that *Experiments*, against which there is no *arguing*, must be of some other nature than this he delivers us: And that the Text being such as we find it, the Comments he makes upon it are of the same Edition; save that where he extends the acknowledgement of his Majesties Mercy to his Protestant Subjects, he must allow me to say, that it cannot be more hearty, and more submis in them, than in the *Irish* Catholicks.

Pag. 40. 78. I am now come to that place, to which, upon former frequent repetitions of the same thing, I transferr'd the Reader; and that is the Year 1641. And because I find that this *Gentleman of Quality*, and the *Man of the mark in England*, do conferr notes, I shall only here repeat what anwer I gave the other, upon part of the same subject: *Your Grace knows with what horrour the Irish Nation looks upon those massacres and murtherers in the North, in the beginning of the Rebellion, committed by the rascal multitude upon their innocent, unarmed, and unprovided Neighbours; but the number of two hundred thousand (although this Writer comes short one hundred thousand in his accompt, of what the Convention-*

vention-Commissioners gave up to his Majesty in their Answer to the Irish Agents) is so exorbitantly vast, that a stranger, who finds the dimensions of Ireland in the Map, and understands this certain truth, that there were then in Ireland one hundred Natives for every Person these men would pass under the notion of an Englishman, will readily conclude, that the whole Island is but one City, so throng'd with Inhabitants, as men cannot walk in the streets unjested.

79. I will not extenuate the sufferings of the English in their personal Estate, which indeed is very great: Nay, I hope to be able to say, That it was more than the fee-simple of all the Lands which his Majesties mercy will allow to have been forfeited in Ireland, is worth. But that this Gentleman should impute to the Irish Catholicks, that they did pretend his Majesties Authority for raising the Rebellion, is to lay that to their charge, which was the sole and individual act of Sir Phelim ò Neill, who shewing the People the broad-seal of an old Patent he had lying by him, published that to be the Warrant from his Majesty for what he acted. And I hope that unfortunate Gentleman himself hath made some satisfaction to the Divine Justice for so hainous a sin, by his free acknowledging it at the time of his Execution, and by his penitent tears, and frequent and publick cryes, that God would be merciful to him for so foul a Crime.

80. Yet, as there have been some of our late King's Ministers in Ireland, that, in favour of his Enemies, have endeavoured industriously by the examination of Witnesses, even upon the Rack, to cause this Imposture to pass for Truth: So this Gentleman, out of the abundance of his kindness to the Irish Catholicks, dictates the fiction, and makes all of them partake of that, which Sir Phelim ò Neill did wholly ascribe to himself.

81. When this Gentleman cites these words of King Charles the First, of ever happy memory, Albeit we do extremely detest the odious Rebellion which the Recusants of Ireland have, without ground or colour, raised against Us, Our Crown, and Dignity, he might have remembered those that immediately follow, viz. Which words we do in all humility conceive to have proceeded from the mis-representations of our

Adversaries, and therefore do protest we have been most maliciously traduced to your Majesty. And nothing can be more evident, than that Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Bur-lace, then Lords Justices, and such of the Council, who from the beginning favoured those that oppofed his Majesty in *England*, gave them this Character, being glad to make the King Author of fo indefinite a Charge, as themselves had retracted before. For having issued forth a Proclamation on the very day they discovered the Conspiracy, and published that it was intended by *some evil-affected Irish*: they having found mens general resentment of those fo general words, soon after, by a second Proclamation, printed and published, declared, *That they only intended by the word, Irish Papists, such of the meer Irish in the Province of Ulster, as had plotted, contrived, and been Actors in that Treason, and others, who adher'd to them: and that they did not any way intend, or mean thereby any of the old English of the Pale, or any other parts of the Kingdom.* We may joyn this to this Gentleman's former *Experiment*, and say with much truth, that mis-informations were the least of those Ministers crimes. As for those killing inferences which he drives from such springs, and builds on such foundations, I leave them to the Reader to be considered.

82. I must not hope to dis-intangle even that particular Fallacy which this Gentleman makes use of, almoſt in every Page, of attributing what is the Crime of Particular men to the whole Nation, untill he gives over to write upon this ſubject.

83. Here we have him, in the Year 45. making the At-Pag. 42, tempt of *Owen o'Neill* to ſurprize the Lord Lieutenant, and &c his Party, in their return to *Dublin*, the general Act of Pag. 43. the Nation: and laying to their charge, that the Council and Congregation obliged General *Preston* to exercise all acts of hostility againſt the Lord Lieutenant by name. Although this be the firſt time that ever I heard of ſuch an Oath; yet I will eaſily believe, that the *Nuncio*, and thoſe that went to besiege his Excellency at *Dublin*, would not ſcruple at the exacting of ſuch an Oath. But wherefore doth not this Gentleman deal ſo ingenuously with the Reader,

der , as to let him know , that those who gave Order to prosecute the Lord Lieutenant , were those only that gave Orders to prosecute all Confederate Irish Catholicks , who stood in Armes against them , and had before seized on their very Persons , who , by the general Assembly of the Confederate Catholiques , were established Governours over themselves , and made them Prisoners in the City of Kilkenny ? Will any man say , that the English Nation is answerable for the actings of Cromwell , or the Rump ? It is much pity , that the Gentleman , who has so good a faculty in commenting sharply , hath not chosen better Texts .

84. We are now come to the Year 1647. in which year this Gentleman sayes , that the general Assembly of the Confederate Catholiques of Ireland employed Commissioners ^{Pag. 44} to Rome , France , and Spain , to invite a forein Power to Ireland . It were to be wish'd , this Person of Quality did not imagine Truth to be such a Rock , as he dares not approach , but by several windings . The plain relation of that Affair is here given the Reader , by a Person of Quality entrusted with that Negotiation .

85. The Power of those who were in Armes in England against his late Majesty of ever blessed memory , was in the Year 1647. considerable in Ireland , who being then free from any opposition in England , and in absolute power to dispose of their Forces for carrying on their Design in Ireland , the said Catholicks fore-see n^o 3 the danger they were in , met in the winter season of that year , in a general Assembly at Kilkenny , where they took in Consideration , That his said late Majesty was in restraint ; That all addresses to him were forbidden ; And that some of the Members of the Parliament , who spake in favour of his said Majesty , were excluded .

*The Defence of his Ma-
jesties Roman Catho-
lick Subjects of Ire-
land , against the Ob-
jection made lately ,
touching their proceed-
ings in the Yea 1647.
relating to the Project-
on of some forein
Prince.*

86. In that sad extremity there being no access to his said late Majesty , for imploring either his Justice or Mercy , all Laws Humane and Divine did allow the said Catholicks to take some other Course in order to their Defence and Preservation ; not against his said Majesty , but against those

who laid violent hands on his sacred Person , who designed the abolishing of the Regal Authority , and resolved to destroy and extirpate the laid Catholicks.

87. The said Catholicks therefore , in the Month of *January* , in the said Year 1641. did in the same Assembly conclude , that the Marques of *Antrim* , Viscount *Muske* , now Earl of *Clankarthy* , and *Geoffry Brown Esquire* , should be employed into *France* ; the Bishop of *Ferns* , and *Nicholas Plunkett Esquire* , into *Rome* ; and some others to *Spain* . That the said Agents sent to *France* , were by their applications to his now sacred Majesty , then Prince of *Wales* , and to the Queen his Mother , to declare the danger the said Catholicks apprehended , and humbly to beseech them to find out some expedient , by which those Calamities might be diverted . That the said Agents were likewise intrusted , in case of absolute necessity , to implore the aid and protection of some forein Princes ; but they were limited not to act any thing in order to such forein protection , other than by the direction of the said Persons who were employed to receive his Majesties commands . That upon the said application made to his Majesty , the Duke of *Ormonds* Commission was renewed for his being Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* , and his Excellency qualified with Power to conclude a Peace with the said Catholicks . Whereupon , without excepting the Concessions to be had on the Conclusion of that Peace , all further proceedings concerning the Protection of any Foreiner were stopt ; and the said Agents recalled , they , nor any of them , having ever moved or acted any thing relating to any Foreigners protection . That the Agents so employed to *Rome* , on their return , in the Year 1648. did in the publick Assembly then sitting , give such a satisfactory account of their said Negotiations , that it encouraged the whole Assembly to hasten the Conclusion of the Peace then in agitation . Which can be testified by very many yet living , whereof several are now in this City : and that accordingly a Peace was soon after concluded in the said year 1648. Wherein the Concessions which are absolute are only removing of Incapacities , and Indempnity , for the lives of the said Catholicks : the rest being temporary until

untill his Majesties further pleasure in Parliament were known.

88. And the said Catholicks are so conscious to themselves of the resolution they took from the beginning to persevere irremovably faithful , through all extremities , to his Majesties Interest , that they are well assured , though those who now possess their Estates , have the Books of the said Irish Assemblies , and the Transactions of the Councills intrusted by those Assemblies , in their hands ; yet can they not make it appear , that there was any actual Treaty or Offer , for transferring the Subjection , naturally due from them to his Majesty , or the Right of his Majesties Dominion over them , to any Foreiner whatsoever : or any thing tending thereunto , but what is herein acknowledged.

89. To aggravate the hainousness of this Mission , which was no other than is related , he adds , that the Commissioners to Rome were authorized to declare , they raised Armes for the freedom of the Catholick Religion : And then he flies out to those Excursions , with which he garnishes each Dish of the great Feast he has with so much pain and industry prepared for his Party . Certainly (sayes he) if ever they may be believed to speak truth , it is when they speak to the Pope . And this truth , which is sought to be extorted from them by so witty an argument , is a truth I never heard denied by any of them , viz . That they , in part , raised Armes for the freedom of the Catholick Religion : (though partly too , nay primarily , at first , and in relation to the generality of Irish Catholicks , who were forc'd out , for the safety of their lives and natural being) Nay , it is probable , that they instructed their Commissioners to pres this Article , wherein his Holiness was most interested , to the Pope , as an especial motive to procure them assistance . But was this the whole truth ? Did they raise Armes for no other end , than for the freedom of the Catholick Religion ? Nay did they raise Armes for no other end than this , and the safety of their lives too ? Will not this Gentleman , that believes them so obliged to tell the Pope the Truth , have so much charity for them , as to think they likewise spake truth in the sight of

Heaven, when they protest and swear before God, his Saints, and his Angels, that they will bear, during their lives, true Faith and Allegiance to their Sovereign Lord Charles, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, his Heirs, and lawful Successors; and that they will, to their power, during their lives, defend, uphold and maintain all his and their just Prerogatives, Estates and Rights, &c? Could this Gentleman, that set down in his Book the very Oath, be ignorant of what himself writes? Or can his malice be so great, as to think, that those who meant to perform that part of the Oath which concerned Religion, were resolved to be willful Perjurors in that which concerns the King?

Pag. 45. 90. This Gentleman, to shew how rigorously penal this freedom of the Catholick Religion was to be to the Protestants, instances *Dean York*, who was forced to bury his own Children, that dyed at *Galway*, in a Garden. Certainly if there had not been many indiscreet Zealots in *Ireland*, the Kingdom had not felt the miseries to which it is reduced. But they were farr from being all so. And to oppose an instance to this, Sir *Cyprian Horsfall*, a Protestant, by the allowance of *David Rooth*, Bishop of *Ossorie*, was buried within the Cathedral Church of *Kilkenny*.

Pag. 46. 91. Taking only upon trust (for this Gentleman acknowledges he has our Papers) what he speaks of those instructions, to which he again resorts, we may well say, that his Logick has taught him to make strong inferences upon weak grounds. For taking both the Texts together, which this Gentleman, to make the Comment the fuller, hath divided; and reflecting upon the evill times, and the necessity to which the Catholicks were reduced, and how nothing was to be acted, but by the advice of those that were employed into *France* to his Majesty, and the Queen his Mother, it was no wonder, supposing the Pope would be munificent towards the maintenance of that War, which, besides the interests of Catholick Religion, had for scope the re-inthroning of the King, that his Holiness should be admitted to receive reasonable satisfaction by the Articles: and to oblige the Pope to descend to such Conditions, as might

might be granted in matters of Religion , that they were to represent to his Holiness the lowness of their own condition , the power and strength of their Enemies ; and to solicit for considerable aides whereby to maintain a War; *And not only that, but to ascertain and secure the same.*

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92. This , and no other, being the sense of those Instructions , cited by this Gentleman himself : And that their imploring of aid and protection tending to no other end : Is it not strange , he could conclude with saying , *Still the Pope is their King ?* Does it appear by this , *That the Irish Papists hang , as their Faith in God , so their Loyalty to the Prince , on the Popes sleeve ?* Yet after his accustomed manner , he comments thus upon that Text , and would liken the protection they sought , to the power of the Protector in England , which beyond Royal was Tyrannical ; although some men by elaborated speeches strove to make it Legitimate , by conferring Kingship on Cromwell .

93. We are now come to the Year 1648. and here again we find this Gentleman forgets not to allege , with the same truth he had before , that *the Irish Papists disowned the Peace then made , disobeyed , opposed , conspired to murther , excommunicated , and banished his Majesties Vice-Roy.* But should I repeat my Answers , as often as he reiterates his Charge , my Reply would grow to a Volume. And therefore I referr the Reader to what is formerly said : as I doo what belongs to his summary Conclusion .

94. It is true , that in some points of Faith , the Catholicks oppose both the Protestants and Sectaries ; but the Catholick and Protestant Royalist agree in point of Loyalty. *The fighting against that which this Gentleman formerly gave us , these two Parties joyned for two or three years under the same Command , in the same Army , to fight against those this Gentleman's Protestants , which can be no other than Sectaries.* *And if not the fighting , but the ground and end of the fighting proves which is the good Subject :* This reaches home to those , that to palliate their evill intentions , feigned themselves Protestant Royalists. And when Cromwell went into Ireland , deserting his Majesties service , presented him with the

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the Regicides , or Sectaries.

the fruits of their treachery , the City of Cork , and the rest of those strong holds in Munster , whilst the true Protestant Royalist , and the Irish Catholick , stuck to their Principles : And not content to abstain from the Rebels in Ireland , many of them adhered to his Majesty in his banishment , and followed his fortune abroad . Now how could Pag. 49 Sampson himself tye their tails together , that scarce ever met , but as Enemies , is a riddle to me .

95. The reason why I said that the power of this Gentleman's Protestants in Ireland , was no greater than his Majesty was pleased to make it , was grounded on the reports which were daily brought to London of the Phanaticks menaces , not to give way to the execution of any of the Kings Orders , by which any of the Natives was to be restored : And knowing that there wanted no hands among the Protestant Royalists , and the Irish Catholicks , sufficient to bring them to reason , I slighted their threats , and their power , to second them , by laying , that it is no greater (as in truth it is not) than his Majesty is pleased to make it . As for the Elogium that follows , if the Gentleman holds himself to my intention , he must allow that it wholly concerns the Phanaticks .

Pag. 50. 96. This Gentleman sayes after his manner , That the Contents of those Articles are in themselves unwarrantable , except in case of necessity , which hath no Law . His Majesty (sayes he) having condescended by them , that the Militia , Treasury , and Army of fifteen thousand Foot , two thousand five hundred Horse , of Irish Papists , and even , in effect , the Legislative power , should be in the hands of twelve men to be chosen by Irish Papists ; and that there should be no alteration in England , of what they in Ireland should think fit to transmit to his Majesty ; and that the Rebels should be pardoned , without consent of Parliament , when his Majesty in Parliament adjudged such pardons before conviction to be null and void ; and that they assumed the Legislative power by repealing Poynings Act ; all which (sayes he) is against Law , and the Oath the King takes at his Coronation .

97. What a task would the answering of all these Heads , this Gentleman vents at a breath , prove to me , if these Articles

Articles of Peace were not so common, as to be in the hands of very many.

This Gentleman will give me leave to ask him whether he himself believes the King broke his Coronation Oath, or gave away his Militia, because he granted that this so considerable an Army should be kept on foot under the conduct of his Lieutenant of Ireland, for maintenance of his interests, in so great streights as his Majesty was reduced to, at a time when his enemies had thrice that number in the Field against him? Did the King break his Oath, or give away his right in the Treasury, because he gave power to his Lieutenant, with the advice of certain select Persons of the Natives to levy money for the maintenance of this Army, and for other charges incident to the Government? Or do those select persons assume the legislative power of the Kingdom, because it is inserted in those Articles, that both Houses of Parliament may consider what they shall think convenient touching the repeal or suspension of the Statute commonly called *Poyings Act*? And cannot his Majesty pardon his Subjects of Ireland, although he give his Royal Assent to an Act past in the Parliament of England, by which such pardon before conviction is declared null and void?

98. He adds, *That although the Irish Catholicks chiefly pleaded for restitution of their Estates by virtue of those Articles; yet if they had prevailed therein upon the score of that plea, it must in consequence have adjudged for them the benefit of all the other Articles as a Right.* But this Gentleman foresees not, that he is to convince himself of an untruth, fol. 79. where he says, and that truly, *That the most essential parts of the Articles of Peace were to be finally obliging, but as they were to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, in the next Parliament which should be assembled after the perfelling of the said Articles of Peace.* So as his Majesties promises are partly absolute, partly relative to his further pleasure: But no Wood comes amiss to this Gentleman, of which Arrows may be made to shoot at the Irish Catholicks. And although we find contradiction in his Words; yet there is never any in his Intentions, when the question is of aspersing them.

Pag. 52. 99. This Gentleman might have taken notice , that the Irish Catholicks have in all the Papers published by them , and in all their pleadings before his Majesty , been so careful of the intention his Royal Father of happy memory expressed to see the just Adventurer satisfied , that they made no opposition thereunto . And although both Parties were allowed ; while the substance of his Majesties gracious Declaration of the 30th. of November 1660. was controverted , to speak their minds : yet since his Majesties sentence is definitive in the point , their duty obliges him to acquiesce , as they did , long before , in order to the Declaration at Breda .

Pag. 52, precedent and opposite to those Articles , which might extend to Ireland as a legal engagement . And therefore his excuses in behalf of the late King were very superfluous : As it is untrue , that the breach of those Articles on the Irish side , occasioned so long and so tedious a War . But the dividing of the Bear's skin , as far as it will goe , hath at this time raised the malice of men to the height it is grown into : As the hope to attain the dividing of it did at first foment the Rebellion , by the testimony of the best of Kings , in that incomparable Legacy , which not long before his death he left to the World . But some kind of Zeales counts all merciful moderation lukewarmness , and rather be counted cruel , than cold , and is not seldom more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin , than for any harm he has done ; the Confiscation of mens Estates being more beneficial , than the charity of saving their Lives , or mending their Errours .

Pag. 53. 54. 101. I shall intreat the Reader to observe , that in the several Dishes served at this Feast , all is but Pork in a different dress . The difficult Conditions which the murtherers of his Father forced , compelled , and necessitated his Majesty to grant , are written in Capital Letters : and the breach of the Peace , which cannot be proved , is taken pro concessu : And thence , but not without too much straining , this Gentleman inferrs , That the breach on their side contributed to , if not

~~so called that unparallel'd Crime.~~ And he again comments upon the word *freely*, as if his Majesty driven to so great streights, might not do that *freely*, which he did upon difficult Pag. 54. Conditions.

102. Again we have the broken Peace served up. But now he adds, to garnish the Dish, *That he had proved the violation of it by undeniable evidences*, when the Reader is yet to seek even for any plausible argument to induce him to believe the breach of it. And again, *The Irish Papists defensed, disowned, rejected, expelled, banisht'd, and excommunicated the Lord Lieutenant, and all adhering to him, and in him, his Majesties Authority:* Whereas we have already demonstrated, that the Nation was innocent of that Crime. Pag. 55.

103. I cannot imagine, wherfore a man, that shews himself so witty in expressing his malice, should repeat in every Leaf, the Heads of his odious Accusation against the Irish Catholicks: unless that like a Fidler, who had in charge to sing the Ballad, he meant at every close to put his party in mind of the Burden of the Song.

104. Now indeed we have somewhat new, but of the same stamp. For this Gentleman alleges, *That the Irish Papists being not able to keep the Condition expressed in their Recognition which preceded the Articles, inviolable, they broke them.* And because the Reader may have all before him, I do here insert that Act of Recognition. Pag. 56.

His Majesties Roman Catholick Subjects (as thereunto bound by Allegiance, Duty, and Nature) do most humbly and freely acknowledge, and recognize their Sovereign Lord King Charles to be lawful and undoubted King of this Kingdom of Ireland, and other his Highness Realms and Dominions. And his Majesties said Roman Catholick Subjects apprehending with a deep sense the sad condition whereunto his Majesty is reduced, as a further humble testimony of their Loyalty, do declare, that they, and their posterity, for ever, to the uttermost of their power, even to the expence of their blood and fortunes, will maintain and uphold his Majesty, his Heirs, and lawful Successors, their Rights, Prerogatives, Government, and Authority, Articles of Peace, Pag. 1, or 6.

Authority, and therennto freely and heartily will render all due Obedience.

Pag. 56. 105. No man denies that this Recognition was made by their ruling power. And it might be accounted a natural and genuine Inference, that those that brake it denied themselves the benefit of the Articles of Peace. But that the ruling Power of the Irish Catholicks published the breach thereof to the World, or that their ruling power made that Declaration of the 12th. of August 1650. is an evident untruth, as is formerly proved.

Pag. 56. 106. As for this Gentleman's Dilemma here in the 56. Page of his Book, to prove, That even those who made these Articles with the Lord Lieutenant, were guilty of their breach, it is answered, That such of that Assembly as broke them, or did not effectually observe, as much as lay in them, the Conditions of the Recognition, did really transgress the duty expressed therein; yet not when they made those Articles, but when they broke them so. For it is evident, that every one had sufficient power and liberty to observe them in his own particular, if he pleased. But to say therefore, that such of that Assembly as preserved themselves from disobedience, were answerable for other men (specially since it is acknowledged that they resigned the power to others, even by those Articles) or were abusers of his Majesties Authority and service, must be a very wild inference. Wheretore our Gentleman's conditional *not able*, and *were able*, and his Conclusion intended thence, is a mere Fallacy, confounding Times and Abilities, and Universal with Particulars, and Effects with their Causes, and the obligations of using their best endeavours with that of the future being of things, and of a success which God alone could ascertain.

Pag. 57. 107. Now we are come to the Oaths of Association, and to another Oath, by which this Gentleman would prove, that the Peace was *designedly broken before it was made*. As nothing did ever yet conduce more to the vindication of Charles the First, of ever blessed memory, from the horrid Calumnies with which his Enemies did asperse him, than

the printing of his Letters taken at the Battel of *Nasby*:—
 So with due reverence to his Sacred name , I may say , that
 nothing could have befallen of more advantage to the *Irish*
 Catholicks , than that all their Books , and all the original
 Papers of their home and forein Transactions , have come
 into the hands of their Adversaries ; and that the whole sub-
 stance of them should be thus spread abroad , and be thus il-
 lustrated with such a Comment , as leaves nothing unfaid
 that Art or Malice could suggestt. For if they had not been
 masters of those Books , and Papers , they who now accuse
 the *Roman* Catholicks to have sought for assistance , in their
 greatest necessities , from a forein protection ; would then
 proclaim to the World , that they were become the Sub-
 jects of another Prince , and had sworn Fealty to him. They
 that now , by all the Cavills and Fallacies imaginable , en-
 deavour to find out Contradictions in their Oaths , and do
 comment only upon their Intentions ; would then publish ,
 that they had expressly sworn to exclude his Majesty , and to
 choose a King of the Nation. They who now by weak in-
 ferences would prove , that the *Irish* Papists meant to sup-
 press Protestant Religion ; would then averr , that they had
 sworn to extirpate all Protestants , the Protestant Prelates
 especially. They who now only upbraid them for having
 proceeded against the Laws of the Kingdom ; would then
 loudly declare , that they had clean laid them aside ; and that
 they had introduced , and were sworn to maintain the *Brea-
 thor* Law. Their Crimes would have been as many , and as
 hainous as their Adversaries could fancy them ; and their
 actions would have been conveighed to Posterity in a tor-
 rent of horrour and perfidy. But now they give us the Text
 out of their own Record , and nothing is left them but to
 comment upon it ; which this Gentleman omits not to doe ,
 with such a Sophistry , and so great a willingness , to make
 them seem black and hideous , as the Catholicks may esteem.
 it happy for them , that he is not wholly left at large to fol-
 low his invention.

to 8. But although this Person of Quality may have those
 Records in his custody , yet I will give him my assistance to
 sort them , by letting him know the Time and Occasion upon

which these several Oaths were taken. And with his good leave I must tell him , that this which he sets forth to be in *the first round*, is a complicated Oath, to which the later part, Pag. 58. which begins *Moreover* , was not added untill the Year Pag. 59. 1646. In which year likewise , the *Oath of adhering to the present Union of the Confederate Catholicks that rejected the Peace* was administred. And it might very well have happened , that the Grand Committee, upon failer of the performance of the Articles of Peace then to be concluded, obliged themselves to reassume their Union. But this must have been in the Year 1645. before the Peace of 46. was assent-ed unto by a Party , that in favour of the *Nuncio* , who op-posed it , moved all scruples imaginable ; and might have objected , that if such another as Sir *William Parsons* , who would not perform those Articles , came to govern the Kingdom, what was to be done in that Case ? This remedy might perhaps have been thought proper for their satisfac-tion. But that this should have happened in the Year 48. is an assertion as vain , as it is malicious. For the World knows that the Peace of 46. was treated and concluded uni-nomously by the Assembly, the Lord Lieutenant being in the same City with them. And as to the Committee, the name and use of it was very superfluous in a place where a few Persons daily brought the sense of the House in difficult matters to his Excellency , and what seemed to be knotty of the part of his Excellency , was upon all occasions resolved by the Assembly , that constantly sat at so near a di-stance.

Pag. 64. 109. I shall likewise give the Reader this faithful relati-on , as to the other Oaths. When the Peace of 46. was re-jected by the greater Vote of those , who , by the terroir 65. of the *Northern Army* , by the suggestion of the *Nuncio's* active Emissaries , and by the affright of an *Excommunicati-on* , were induced to violate the publick Faith ; Which un-doubtedly is the ground of all the sufferings of the Nation : Then it was that the same Assembly framed that *Oath of ad-hhering to the Union of the Confederate Roman Catholicks that rejected the Peace*. And having chosen a supreme Council , composed for the most part of the rejecters of the Peace,

Peace, they for that time conceived themselves secure: But the People having had some respite from the fears they had before entertained, coming to a new Election for the succeeding Assembly, such, for the most part, were chosen to be of the supreme Council, that had served in that place before, and were known to have good inclinations to settle the Kingdom under his Majesties Government. Wherefore the Prelates distrusting those hands, into which the power of the Confederates was committed, got that part which begins with the word *Moreover*, to be added to the Oath of Association; and the general Assembly, that knew it was, and always kept it in their power to approve of, or consent to any Peace they thought fit, gave them satisfaction in that which could no longer interrupt a settlement, than they list.

Pag. 59.

110. Having thus placed the Gentlemans Records in due order, and given the Reader some light to lead him through a discourse knotty and perplext, and endeavoured to be made so, if I be not much deceived, I shall descend to the Commentary. But I shall first desire the Reader to consider, that I take not upon me, with relation to these happy times, when the Restoration of his Majesty hath given life to his Laws, to justifie the Irish Catholicks against Mr. Attorney at the Bar. His Majesties Mercy is their sole plea, and the Sanctuary to which they resort.

111. Wherefore laying aside those legal Tryals (by which infallibly, those who set up a Government, in opposition to his Majesties, by what hand soever that Government was managed, those that swear to obey and ratifie all the Orders and Decrees made, and to be made by such a Government, would be adjudged Traytors) let us resort back to those confused times, and examine whether, as things then were carried, it might stand with the rules of Reason, and Self preservation, to admit, that (to swear) to bear true Faith and Allegiance to the King, and to swear to obey and ratifie all the Orders and Decrees made, and to be made by the Supreme Council, are flat and known contraditoryes? To prevent confusion, they swear to obey the Orders of that Government they had set up themselves; and if we shall

Pag. 60.

shall allow to the nature of the times those things which men seduced think necessary for their preservation, why should it be a flat contradictory to say, that at the same time they

Pag. 60. *bare true Faith and Allegiance to the King*, not by desisting from doing those things, without which they could not subsist, but by performing those eminent duties to which their Faith and Allegiance at all Times, upon all Occasions, and in all Conditions subject them? That is, not to pay the Fealty we owe him to any other Prince; not to assist or countenance the doing of the least injury to his Person; to forbear taking any Oath that tends to exclude him, and his Posterity, from his Dominions; to fight against those that do; and since we are unhappily fallen from our Obedience, to return to our former state, as soon as possibly we can; and things of this nature.

112. Certainly if this Gentleman be not extremely innocent, he is very forgetful, that holds so close to the Law.

Pag. 60. And I assure him, *That to maintain the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the free exercise of the Catholick Religion, were, in those times, thought to be things very compatible,* however he takes them to be Contradicitors.

113. He aggravates the matter (and so he might, if we did forget the nature of the Times) with their swearing not to seek or receive any pardon or protection for any thing done,

Pag. 61. *or to be done, touching the general Cause.* But allowing not the Legality, but the Existence of their Government, what could have preserved it without such tyes?

114. This Gentleman is always at a fault when his discourse tends any way to Catholick Religion. Our Tenet is quite contrary; for we know, that *we cannot receive, nor the Pope give a pardon for sins to come.*

115. Now we are come to that part which was added to the Oath in the Year 46. and he tells us, they swear *not to submit to any Peace, made, or to be made, without the approbation of the general Assembly of the Catholicks.* Of all the parts of the Oath, this methinks, ought least to be op-pugned. For it is no wonder, that they should expect to have their own consent and approbation to attend any Peace, that would be concluded, they themselves being the most

most numerous Representative of the Nation. Had they confined it to the Supreme Council, that in truth might be thought a limitation.

116. But this Gentleman, to aggravate their guilt, makes use, in my opinion, of a very speculative Argument, saying, *That if the King did not so much as name them, but make a Peace with them, as if they had never done any offence, they were debarred of it by this Oath.* And I desire to be informed, how it might otherwise be known, than by the consent and approbation of an Assembly, that they accepted of such a Peace?

117. I have already mentioned how the Assembly gave way to the Propositions made by the Clergy, and had them confirmed by Oath, being loath to displease so powerful a Party, in a matter which was no longer binding than an Assembly thought fit. And therefore this Gentleman may, without Reply from me, comment upon those Propositions as he thinks fit. But, with his leave, he will not gather by any thing therein, *That none should be admitted to live in Ireland bnt Papists.* The French King maintains the Catholick Clergy and Laity in the publick and free exercise of the Roman Catholick Religion and Function throughout France, in as full lustre and splendor as it was in the Reign of St. Lewis, yet he excludes not the Hugonots.

118. Had this Gentleman dealt fairly with the Reader, he had not entertained him with *Propositions* which interest men do commonly make for their own advantage, and his Comments upon them: nor with *Instructions* which up on every occasion are subject to alteration, and were given those that agitated the affairs in 46. which I hope he will not deny. But he should have laid before him the *Result and Conclusion* in the Articles of Peace in 48. and told him what a numerous People the King was to satisfie, who, without excluding his Protestant Subjects, might partake of his favours. But this was not his design. He knew nothing could be grateful to the Party he intended to pleasure, but the foulest aspersions, whether right or wrong, that could be laid on those, whose Estates they possess. And we cannot say, but he hath been faithful to them, how unjust soever to Catholicks.

Pl. 80. 119. Now passing over those things, which the Gentleman himself calls *Digressions*, and indeed are no other than a methodical way of venting his bitterness, I shall present the Reader, instead of thote horrid Oaths (as this Gentleman calls them) those, than which indeed no written wickedness can ascend higher, with other Oaths that have been esteemed more religious: Oaths taken by the Saints themselves: Oaths taken by the Fautors of Cromwell's Tyranny, and the Well-wishers of his Kingship.

The Form
of an Ex-
A. B. Being nominated a Member of the Council of State
by this present Parliament, do testify, that I do adhere to
purgatory this present Parliament in the Maintenance and Defence of the
Oath, ta-
ken by
the Coun-
declared by this Parliament (by whose Authority I am con-
stituted a Member of the said Council) and in the Maintenance
and Defence of their Resolutions concerning the settling of the
Government of this Nation for the future in way of a Republick,
without King, or House of Peers; And I do promise in the
sight of God, that (through his Grace) I will be faithful in
performarce of the Trust committed to me, as aforesaid, and
to herein faithfully pursue the Instructions given to the said Coun-
cil by this present Parliament; and not to reveal or disclose any
thing in whole, or in part, directly or indirectly, that shall be
debated or resolved upon in the Council, without the command
and direction of the Parliament, or without the order or al-
lowance of the major part of them that shall be present at such
Debates or Resolutions. In confirmation of the Premisses I
have hereto subscribed my Name.
Feb. 12.
1648.

Oath of
Adjudication. I A. B. Do hereby declare, that I renounce the pretended
Title of Charles Stuart, and the whole Line of the late King
on of the James, and of every other Person, as a single Person pretend-
ing to the Government of these Nations of England, Scotland,
and Ireland, and the Diminutions and Territories thereunto be-
longing; And that I will; by the grace and assistance of Al-
mighty God, be true and faithful to this Common-wealth, a-
gainst any King, single Person, and House of Peers, and every
of them; And hereto I subscribe my Name.

And

And I shall give the Reader that pure , that holy Oath indeed , the *Solemn League and Covenant* , which was the Head-spring of those others , and the Fountain of all Evills that overflowed the three Nations .

WE Noblemen , Barons , Knights , Gentlemen , Citizens , Burgesses , Ministers of the Gospel , and Commissioners of all sorts , in the Kingdoms of England , Scotland , and Ireland , by the Providence of God living under one King , and being of one Reformed Religion , having before our eyes the Glory of God , and the Advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ , the Honour and Happiness of the Kings Majesty , and his Posterity , and the true publick Liberty , Safety , and Peace of the Kingdoms , wherein every ones private Condition is included : And calling to mind the treacherous and bloody Plots , Conspiracies , Attempts , and Practices of the Enemies of God against the true Religion , and Professors thereof , in all places , especially in these three Kingdoms , ever since the Reformation of Religion ; and how much their rage , power and presumption are of late , and at this time increased and exercised , whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland , the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of England , and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland , are present and publick testimonies : We have now at last (after other means of Supplication , Remonstrance , Protestations , and Sufferings) for the preservation of our selves , and our Religion , from utter ruine and destruction , according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms in former times , and the example of Gods people in other Nations ; after mature deliberation , resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant ; wherein we all subscribe , and each one of us for himself , with our hands lifted up to the most High , do swear ,

1. That we shall sincerely , really , and constantly , through the Grace of God , endeavour in our several Places and callings , the Preservation of the Reform'd Religion in the Church of Scotland , in Doctrine , Worship , Discipline , and Government , against our common Enemies : The Reformation of Religion

ligion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches. And shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God, in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity, in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Directory for Worship and Catechising, that we, and our Posterity after us, may as Brethren, live in Faith and Love, the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

2. That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is Church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellours and Commissioners, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Prophaness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the power of Godliness, lest we partake in other mens sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues: And that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

3. We shall with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy in our several vocations endeavour with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Authority in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms. That the World may bear witness with our Consciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesties just power and greatness.

4. We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such, as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publique Tryal, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their offences shall require, or deserve; or the Supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively,

stively, or others having power from them, for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded & sealed by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity; and that Justice may be done upon the wilfull Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Article.

6. Wee shall also, according to our places and callings in this common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof, and shall not suffer our selves directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terrorre, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union, and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our selves to a detestable indifferencie or neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the glory of God, the good of the Kingdoms, and honour of the King; but shall all the days of our lives, zealously and constantly continue therein, against all opposition, and promote the same, according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever; And what we are not able our selves to suppress, or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented and removed: All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; We profess and declare before God and the World our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these Kingdoms; especially that we have not, as we ought, valued the inestimable benefit of the Gospel; that we have not laboured for the parity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives; which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us: And our true

and unfeigned purpose, desire and endeavour for our selves and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our lives, and each one to goe before another in the example of a real Reformation; That the Lord may turn away his wrath, and heavy indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of Almighty God the searcher of all hearts, and with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great Day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his People, and encouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Anti-Christian Tyranny, to joyn in the same, or like Association and Covenant, To the Glory of God, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace and tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms and Commonwealths.

120. Now this Gentleman, to compleat the work of his parties entire satisfaction should give us Commentaries in excuse of these Oaths, and where he found the matter grow knotty and hard, he might, as in the Case of the
 Pag. 40. Irish, against whom he averr'd with confidence, the most part of the Protestants of Ireland only served under the Usurpers to bring them to reason; So in this Lay, That his Party only swore those Oaths in order to bring in the King.

121. Here he descants upon my saying, that to deny the Irish Catholicks the benefit of the Peace, while those that were no great Friends to his Majesty possessed their whole substance and livelyhood, would estrange the hearts of the Irish from him. And it is probable, nay very natural, that the ardencies of mens zeal should remit, when they conceive themselves to be hardly used; though I withall a-
 Pag. 81. ample verre, that no pretence of injury, can in Conscience be a sufficient warrant for them to transgress the limits of duty &c. Pag. 67. and Loyalty. Whence it is inferred, God wot, very pre-
 Pag. 81. posterously, That the Irish follow the King for nought but the leaves.

loaves. Of this malicious obloquy his Majesty himself is the best Judge, who saw the Irish Catholicks, through Zeal to his service, cast away the Loaves they had in assurance, and fed upon Turnops when they could get them: Who saw them follow his Person in the lowest condition of his fortune from Spain to France, from France to Flanders. The rest of his Deductions were but to usher in that notable close, with which he thinks he tickles his Party, and therefore writes it in Capital Letters, *The Beast, if pamper'd, will kick, if kept low, obey*: That is, my Friends, the Land is for you, and servitude for them, Pag. 82.

122. As for the judicious Protestants, all what this Gentleman hath said in favour of them, cannot convince me, but that even from the top of this so perfect an obedience, they sometimes make reflections upon the state of other men. Pag. 82.

123. Now passing over that part where he musters up the Heads of his Invectives, and praying as heartily as he, that credulity, and too hasty a belief of real Conversions, do not bring a prejudice upon his Majesties interests in Ireland, I come to the fearful Judgements which I said were wonderfully inflicted on the Irish Nation for their breach of the Peace in 46. and such as were inflicted on Sauls House for his breach with the Gibeonites. And this Gentleman blames my memory, as having forgot those other breaches in 1645 and 1648. but never considers, that in neither of them the publick Faith (whereof the breach attracts those Judgements) was violated. In 41. a few not very eminent Persons, of desperate fortunes, rebelled, and stood single in the guilt they had contracted; until the mis-government of the Lords Justices; and that part of the Council which favoured those that opposed the King in England, forced the Nation to be Criminal in providing for their safety. This was a Rebellion; who denies it? Yet although all Rebellions be grievous sins, they pass not under the Notion of the breach of publick Faith; such as Sauls House was pushed for; And although this Gentleman have turned himself into a thousand shapes, to deprive the Nation of the benefit of the Peace in 48. yet he hath not to this hour given the Reader

Reader any ground or colour to believe, that it was violated by breach of publick Faith; as is evident by what we formerly said.

Pag. 83. 124. But (fayes he) if all were pardoned by the Peace made in the Year 1648. why does he remember the Judgements for the breaches in 1646? If he thinks all were not, why does he not remember the breaches made in 41. and at length attribute some Judgements to that breach? Alas! I could wish that all were pardoned by the Peace in 48. But the punishment of the breach of publick Faith is an incomunicable privilege which the King of Kings reserves for himself. And our Answer to that of 1641. you have already. But all this preparation was made to introduce the Popes Bull with the more solemnity.

Pag. 84. 125. This Gentleman must afford me leave , not to give entire credence to his *Ad futuram rei memoriam*, or pretended Bull of Urban the 8. unless the Original can be produced. Not but that I know , that where there is question of the propagation of Catholick Religion, many Popes have been accustom'd, in those later Ages , not to spare giving Encouragements by Bulls and Benedictions to those , even Subjects , I say , who are engaged in that Cause (though I approve not the practice or Doctrine whence it flows , when the question is of Subjects , but openly disavow both in that case , as very unlawful , unchristian , and uncatholick , even , I say , when the Subjects rebell against an Heretick or Infidel King.) But because I have read an original Bull , which a Friend of mine hath at this present in his custody , from the same Pope , sent with his Minister *Petrus Franciscus Scarampus* , bearing date the 18th. of April 1643. which is but a few dayes above a Month before the date of this other Bull: and that Popes do not usually send Bulls so thick upon the same subject , into the same Countries. And to give the Reader all the light I can, I do here insert this Bull, which I have seen faithfully translated into English.

Urbanus

Urbanus P. P. VIII.

Venerable Brethren, and beloved Sons, Health, and Apostolical Benediction. Among the weighty Cares with which in this difficult time we are busied, we are no way forgetful of that fatherly love which we cordially bear to all the Catholicks of that Kingdom. We embrace you with the Armes of Apostolical Charity, and that it may be effectually known, how much we desire the good of your affairs, we have resolved to see d' thither a Person, no less prudent, and learned, than approved, and that a long time, for the integrity of his manners, and his zeal of piety, who will in our name comfort the Faithful, and direct them aright, as well in things appertaining to the Glory of God, the Solidity of the Catholick Faith, and the Decrees of Canonical Sanctions, as also the maintenance and increase of the Orthodox Religion, and likewise will promote the Conservation of the Obedience and Subjection which is fit to be paid to the King. We have chosen to execute this Employment, our beloved Son Petrus Franciscus Scarampus, who adorned with the fame of his Ancestors, and his proper Virtues, preferring the Discipline of Ecclesiastical Institution before his domestick advantages, enlisted himself among the Congregation of Saint Philippus Nereus. He carries you our Pontifical Benediction; to whom we desire you give full credence; especially when he declares with how propense an inclination we wish well to the affairs of Ireland, and how earnestly we desire, that all of you do walk with one consent in the House of the Lord, and that all of you growing to one heart, and one soul, do serve the almighty. Truly we conceive that this is without doubt to be expected from the great zeal with which you are inflamed in defending the Worship of the Divine Glory, and the publick good. As for the rest, we may well conjecture, with what humanity you will receive this religious man, who both for his merit, but chiefly for the Charge in which he is employed by us, carries more than ordinary Recommendations with him; yet we assure you, that all the testimonies of affection, which you think fit to impart to our Minister, will be grateful to us. In the

mean time we will pray to the Highest , that he come to your assistance , and that he bear you in the abundance of his mercy , for whom , from his Divine Clemency , we implore lasting felicity . Given at Saint Peters in Rome , under the Fishers Ring ; this 18th. of April 1642. of our Pontificate the 20th.

126. The Reader may observe this Bull preceded that other which this Gentleman pretends to have , and that in this the Pope makes it part of the Charge of his Minister to promote the Conservation of the Subjection and Obedience , which is fit to be paid to the King . And therefore to make these two Bulls stand together (if there be any such Bull as this Gentleman speaks of) it must be said , That the Pope excited the Irish against those only , whom he well knew to be Enemies , both to the Religion , and to the King ; For it were a strange way of paying Obedience to the King , to weaken his Party , and to root out those that fought for him .

127. But if our Person of Quality , notwithstanding this other Bull , and contradiction of it to his own , and my rational Comment on both , will needs have his Bull to be a real one , and that indeed the Pope therein declared his mind thoroughly , declining the former , as to that part of Scarampus Charge , To promote the Conservation of that Obedience and Subjection , which is fit to be paid to the King ; And that indeed his Holiness (that was then) truly intended (as much as lay in him) to sanctifie the Rebellion , or the Armes of the Irish against his Majesties Father of blessed memory , I say , that all this granted , makes nothing for him , nor against the Irish in general . For as much as it is very well known , that it was never so much as heard of , either by the supreme Council , or general Assembly of the Confederates , or indeed by any at all of the Irish Catholicks , either Lay or Ecclesiastical , for any thing I could ever yet learn (and I call God to witness that I speak truth .) And I am sure , had the Keepers of that Bull , if any such hath been , ever made it known to others , I should have heard of it some way . Yet I will not deny , but it may be probable , there might have

have been some such Letters procured from his Holiness Urban the 8th. and that those who were of the Cabal among the more disaffected Irish (for I know some such persons have been) might have had such Letters in their custody , waiting a fit time , when their Designs had been ripe , to publish them , or make use of them at least amongst a disloyal Party , or such , as would alienate the Crown , and war against the Right English Interest . But I avert withall , that the keeping of it so secret for so many years , and in all the Revolutions of the Irish War , must be rather an argument of the aversion of the Catholick Confederates , or Irish Catholicks in general , from the belief , or Doctrine , or practice of Indulgences in such a Case as theirs was , and in the sense of that Bull , understood by this Gentleman , than of any approbation of it . From which I profess my self to the World so averse , that I would have to my power opposed all three , or the practice , Doctrine , and belief of Pardons in that case and sense , and no less that of the hopes of a holy Martyrdom , as no part of the Catholick Faith professed by the greatest Nations in Christendom , which yet are in a most holy strict Communion with the Roman See .

128. But however this be , or any thing else I have hitherto alleged of my own judgement , or of my own knowledge of the judgement of others , in answer to this Person of Quality's arguments , grounded on his either true or forged Bull ; and supposing the Reader expects not from me , that I should walk after this Gentleman in all the paths of those Comments he makes upon ill grounded Texts , not that I should deny him the privilege to feast his Party with those hideous words of *general, if not universal massacring, and bloody Principles and Designs* (but I write not to fill the ears of men , but I write truth , and that will prevail) yet that I may endeavour to reclaim this Gentleman , if it be possible , from that savage humour that makes him express his malice with so much acrimony against Irish Catholicks , and shew him how absurdly he charges their Religion with disloyal Principles , and shew this by manifest Arguments which he cannot deny , and Arguments by this time known throughout England , Ireland , Scotland , nay in most Kingdoms

Pag. 88.

doms of Europe, even at Rome it self, I give the Reader those printed *Remonstrances*, *Declarations*, *Protestations*, &c. presented to his Majesty, in the original Writings and Subscriptions.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Remonstrance, Acknowledgement, Protestation, and Petition of the *Roman Catholick Clergy of Ireland*.

YOur Majesties faithful Subjects, the Roman Catholick Clergy of your Majesties Kingdom of Ireland, do most humbly represent this their present State, and deplorable Condition.

That being intrusted by the indispensable Commission of the King of Kings with the Cure of Souls, and the Care of their Flocks, in order to the Administration of Sacraments, and teaching the People that perfect Obedience, which for Conscience sake, they are bound to pay to your Majesties Commands, they are loaden with Calumnies, and persecuted with severity.

That being obliged by the Allegiance they owe, and ought to swear unto your Majesty, to reveal all Conspiracies and Practises against your Person, and Royal Authority, that come to their knowledge, they are themselves clamour'd against as Conspirators, plotting the destruction of the English among them, without any ground that may give the least colour to so foul a Crime, to pass for probable in the judgement of an indifferent person.

That their Crimes are as numerous, and as divers; as are the Inventions of their Adversaries: And because they cannot with freedom appear to justify their Innocence, all the Fictions and Allegations against them are received as undoubted Verities; and which is yet more mischievous, the Laiy, upon whose Consciences the Character of Priesthood gives them an influence, suffer under all the Crimes thus falsely imputed to them: it being

their Adversaries principal design, that the Irish, whose Estates they enjoy, should be reputed persons unfit, and no way worthy any title to your Majesties mercy.

That no Wood comes amiss to make Arrows for their destruction; for as if the Roman Catholick Clergy, whom they esteem most Criminal, were, or ought to be a Society so perfect, as no evill, no indiscreet person should be found amongst them, they are all of them generally cryed down for any Crime, whether true or feigned, which is imputed to one of them; and as if no words could be Spoken, no Letter written, but with the common consent of all of them, the whole Clergy must suffer for that which is laid to the charge of any particular person amongst them.

We know what Odium all t'he Catolick Clergy lyes under, by reason of the Calumnies with which our Tenents in Religion, and our dependance upon the Popes Authority are aspers'd: And we humbly beg your Majesties pardon, to vindicate both by the ensuing Protestation, which we make in the sight of Heaven, and in the presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without Equivocation, or mental Reservation.

We do acknowledge and confess your Majesty to be our true and lawfull King, supreme Lord, and rightful Sovereign of this Realm of Ireland, and of all other your Majesties Dominions. And therefore we acknowledge and confess our selves to be obliged, under pain of sin to obey your Majesty in all Civil and Temporal Affairs, as much as any other of your Majesties Subjects, and as the Laws and Rules of Government in this Kingdom do require at our hands. And that notwithstanding any power or pretension of the Pope or See of Rome, or any Sentence or Declaration of what kind or quality soever, given, or to be given, by the Pope, his Predecessors, or Successors, or by any Authority Spiritual or Temporal proceeding or derived from him, or his See, against your Majesty, or Royal Authority, We will still acknowledge and perform, to the uttermost of our abilities, our faithful Loyalty, and true Allegiance to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all forein power, be it either Papal or Princely, Spiritual or Temporal, in as much, as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free, discharge, or absolve us from this Obligation; or shall any way give us

leave or licence to raise Tumults, bear Armes, or offer any violence to your Majesties Person, Royal Authority, or to the State or Government. Being all of us ready, not only to discover, and make known to your Majesty, and to your Ministers, all the Treasons made against your Majesty, or them, which shall come to our hearing, but also to lose our lives in the defence of your Majesties Person, and Royal Authority, and to resist with our best endeavours all Conspiracies and Attempts against your Majesty, be they framed, or sent under what pretence, or patronized by what forein Power or Authority soever. And further we profess, that all absolute Princes, and supreme Governours, of what Religion soever they be, are Gods Lieutenants on Earth, and that Obedience is due to them, according to the Laws of each Common wealth respectively, in all Civil and Temporal Affairs. And therefore we do here protest against all Doctrine and Authority to the contrary.

And we do hold it impious, and against the Word of God, to maintain, that any private Subject may kill or murther the Anointed of God his Prince, though of a different Belief and Religion from his. And we abhor and detest the practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

These being the Tenents of our Religion, in point of Loyalty and Submission to your Majesties Commands, and our dependence of the See of Rome no way intrenching upon that perfect Obedience, which by our Birth, by all Laws Divine and Humane, we are bound to pay to your Majesty, our natural and lawful Sovereign: We humbly beg, prostrate at your Majesties feet, that you would be pleased to protect us from the severe persecution we suff'r merely for our profession in Religion; leaving those that are, or hereafter shall be guilty of other Crimes (and there have been such in all times, as well by their Pens, as by their Actions) to the punishment prescribed by the Law.

Fr. Oliver Darcy, Bishop of Dromore.

Fr. George Dillon of S. Francis Ord. Guardian of the Irish Franciscans at Paris.

Fr. Philip Roch, of S. Francis Ord. Reader General of Divinity.

Fr.

- Fr. *Anthony Gearnon*, of S. *Bartholomew Flemming*.
Fran. Ord. one of Her Majesties the Queen Mothers Chaplains.
- Fr. *John Everard*, of S. *Francis Order*, Conf. and Preach.
- Fr. *Anthony Nash*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Conf. and Preacher.
- Fr. *William Linch*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Conf.
- Fr. *Nicholas Sall*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Conf. and Preach.
- James Cusack*, Doctor of Divinity.
- Cornelius Fogarty*, Prot-not. Apoſt. and Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law.
- Fr. *Henry Gibon*, of S. *Aug.* Ord. and Conf. Preac.
- Daniel Dougan*, Divine.
- Fr. *Redmond Moore*, of S. *Dom.* Ord. Conf. and Preac.
- Bartholomew Billlew*.
- Dennis Fitz Ranna*.
- Fr. *Peter Walsh*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Reader of Divinity, and Procuratour of the Rom. Cath. Clerg. both Sec. and Reg. of Ireland.
- Fr. *Redmond Caron*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Reader Jubilate of Divinity.
- Fr. *Simon Wafre*, of the same Order, Reader of Divinity.
- Fr. *James Caverly*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Conf. and Preac.
- Fr. *John Fitz Gerald*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Cont. and Preac.
- Fr. *Theobald Burk*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Conf. and Preac.
- Fr. *Matthew Duff*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Conf. and Preac.
- Fr. *Peter Goghegan*, of S. *Fran.* Ord. Conf. and Preacher.

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty.

The faithful Protestation, and humble Remonstrance of the Roman Catholick Nobility and Gentry of Ireland.

YOur Majesties faithful Subjects, the Roman Catholick Nobility and Gentry of your Majesties Kingdom of Ireland, out of a deep sense of those prodigious Afflictions, under which the Monarchy of Great Britain, has before your Majesties happy Restauration, groaned these twenty years: And out of our sad thoughts, which daily bring more and more sighs from our breasts, and tears from our eyes, for not only the still and yet continued miseries, and sufferings of the Catholick Natives of that our unfortunate Country, even amidst, and ever since the so much famed joyes and triumphs of your sacred Majesties most auspicious Inauguration; but also of the Causes, whereunto we have made the most narrow search we could, of these our own unparallel'd Calamities: And upon reflection upon that Allegiance we owe, and ought by all Divine and Humane Laws, and which we are, and have been always ready to swear and perform to your Majesty, our only Sovereign Lord on Earth; and on the scandal (notwithstanding) which some persons (who are unwilling to understand aright our Religion) cast upon it, as if it were not consistent with all dutiful Obedience and Faith to the supreme Temporal Magistrate; And upon consideration likewise, of a further tye of Conscience on us, for endeavouring, as much as in us lies, to clear your Majesties Royal Breast from all fears and jealousies whatsoever, if any, peradventure, your Majesty entertain of us, through the suggestion of such as hate our Communion or Nation; And to wipe off that Scandal, and allay the Odium under which our Church hath lyen this last Century of years, among other Christian people in these Nations, of a different way from ours in the worship of God; We humbly crave your Majesties pardon, to vindicate both our selves, and our holy belief, in that particular of our Allegiance, by the ensaining Protestation. Which (in imitation

imitation of the good example given by our Clergy, and pursuant to the general Doctrine and Practice of the Catholick Church) we make in the sight of Heaven, and in the presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without Equivocation, or mental Reservation.

We do acknowledge and confess your Majesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme Lord, and rightful Sovereign of this Realms of Ireland, and of all other your Majesties Domions. And therefore we acknowledge and confess our selves to be obliged, under pain of sin, to obey your Majesty in all Civil and Temporal Affairs, as much as any other of your Majesties Subjects, and as the Laws and Rules of Government in this Kingdom do require at our hands. And that notwithstanding any power or pretension of the Pope, or See of Rome, or any Sentence or Declaration, of what kind or quality soever, given, or to be given, by the Pope, his Predecessors, or Successors, or by any Authority, Spiritual or Temporal, proceeding or derived from him, or his See, against your Majesty, or Royal Authority, we will still acknowledge and perform, to the uttermost of our abilities, our faithful Loyalty, and true Allegiance to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign power, be it either Papal or Princely, Spiritual or Temporal, in as much as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free, discharge, or absolve us from this Obligation, or shall any way give us leave or licence to raise Tumults, bear Armes, or offer any violence to your Majesties Person, Royal Authority, or to the State or Government; being all of us ready, not only to discover, and make known to your Majesty, and to your Ministers, all the Treasons made against your Majesty or them, which shall come to our hearing; but also to lose our lives in the defence of your Majesties Person, and Royal Authority; and to resist with our best endeavours, all Conspiracies and Attempts against your Majesty, be they framed or sent under what pretence, or patronized by what foreign Power or Authority soever. And further we profess, that all absolute Princes, and supreme Governours, of what Religion soever they be, are Gods Lieutenants on Earth; and that Obedience is due to them, according to the Laws of each Commonwealth respectively, in all Civil and Temporal Affairs; and there-

fore we do here protest against all Doctrine and Authority to the contrary. And we do hold it impious, and against the Word of God, to maintaiu, that any private Subject may kill or murther the Anointed of God, his Prince; though of a different Belief and Religion from his. And we abhor and detest the practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

These being the T events of our Religion in point of Loyalty and Submission to your Majesties Authority, and our Observance and Veneration of, or Communion with the See of Rome, in matters purely Spiritual, no way entrenching on that perfect Obedience, which, by our Birth, by the Laws of God and Man, we are bound to pay to your Majesty, our natural and lawful Sovereign.

Prostrate at your Majesties feet, we most humbly beg, that all your Majesties Roman Catholick Subjects of Ireland, who shall by subscription or consent, concurr to this publick Protestantation of Loyalty, be protected from Persecution, for the profession or exercise of their Religion, and all former Laws, upon that account, against them repealed.

Luke, *Earl of Fingall.*

Mourrogh, *Earl of Inchiquin.*

Donoghe, *Earl of Clancarthy.*

Oliver, *Earl of Tyrconell.*
Theobald, *Earl of Carlingford.*

Edmond, *Viscount Montgarett.*

Thomas, *Viscount Dillon.*

Arthur, *Viscount Jueagh.*

William, *Viscount Clanè.*

Charles, *Viscount Muskry.*

William, *Viscount Taaffe.*

Oliver, *Baron of Lowth.*

William, *Baron of Castle Conell.*

Colonel Charles Dillon.

Matthew Plunkett *Esquire.*
Lieutenant Colonel Ignatius Nugent.

Edward Plunkett *Esquire.*
Nicholas Plunkett Knight.
Matthew Plunkett of Dunfany.

James Dillon Knight.
Colonel Christopher Brian.
Robert Talbot Baronet.

Villick Burk Baronet.
Edward Fitz Harris Baronet.
Valentine Brown Baronet.

Luke Bath Baronet.
Henry Slingsby Knight.
John Bellew Knight.

Colonel William Burk.
Colonel John Fitz Patrick.
Colonel Brian Mac-Mahon.

Colonel

- Colonel Miles Relly.
 Colonel Gilbert Talbott.
 Colonel Milo Power.
 Lieutenant Colonel Pierce
 Lacy.
 Lieutenant Colonel Villick
 Burk.
 Lieutenant Colonel Thomas
 Scurlog.

 Esquires and Gentlemen.

 Jeoffry Brown of Galway.
 John Walsh of Ballyuher.
 Patrick Brian.
 James Fitz Gerald of Lac-
 kagh.
 John Talbot of Malahyde.
 Thomas Luttrell of Luttrells-
 Town.
 John Holywood of Artayne.
 Henry O Neill, Son to Sir
 Phelim O Neill.
 Dudley Bagnell of Dun-
 lickny.
 Henry Dracort of Mornan-
 ton.
 Edward Battler of Monihore.
 Nicholas Darcy of Platin.
 Patrick Sarsfield of L'ican.
 John Mac na Mara of Creatt-
 lagh.
 James Talbott of Bela-con-
 nell.
 Robert Balf of Corftown.
 James Talbot of Templeoge.
 Patrick Archer.
 Luke Dowdall of Athlumny.
 Philip Hore of Killsalghan.
- James Barnewall of Bremore.
 James Allen of Saint Wol-
 stans.
 Thomas Cantuell of Baly-
 makeddy.
 John Cantuell of Cantuells-
 Court.
 Edmond Dillon of Stream's-
 Town.
 John Flemming of Stahal-
 mock.
 Peter Sherlog of Gracedieu.
 Christopher Archbald of Iy-
 molin.
 Patrick Moore of Duan's
 Town.
 Nicholas Haly of Towlraine.
 Pierce Butler of Callan.
 Pierce Butler of Killuea-
 legher.
 John Sedgraw of Cabragh.
 Richard Wadding of Kill-
 barry.
 Thomas Brown of Clan-Do-
 nel-Roe.
 Oliver Cassell of Dundalke.
 Patrick Clenton of Irish-
 Town.
 Captain Christopher Turner.
 John Baggott.
 William Grace.
 John Arthur of Hogestown.
 Marcos Laffan of Greas-
 Town.
 Christopher Aylmer of Bal-
 rath.
 James Plunkett of Gibston.
 Thomas St. John of Mortles-
 Town.

William Barrioge of Rincorran.	Michael Brett.
Richard Strange of Rockwell-Castle.	Patrick Boyton of Bally-tur-ny-mac-oris.
James Butler of Ballenekill.	James White of Chambolly.
Anthony Colclough.	Major Lawrence Dempsey.
Thomas Sarsfield of Sarsfield-town.	Captain Richard Dempsey.
Pierce Nangle of Monapimy.	Edward Nugent of Calvin.
James Wolverton of Stalangan.	Patrick Porter of Kington.
	Major Marcos Furloag.

129. Notwithstanding this Gentleman's rare faculty of commenting, I believe he will find little to be laid upon this subject. And now we will descend to his Parallel up-

Pag. 90. on my example of *Saul's Children, and the Gibonites.*

130. Where, in the first place, I must tell our Person of Pag. 90. Quality he hath very ill endeavoured to shew how far that is parallel to the present Case of the Irish, and how far it is not. And I must tell him, that neither his paralleling, differencing, or indeed impoling here on the Reader, and on holy Scripture too, can prove that I have unjustly applyed those examples of Gods most righteous Judgements.

The Person of Quality, in the Case or Exam- ple of Saul's Children, and the Gibonites, proved ridiculous, and unconvincing, &c. He might without any labour have seen in that Letter, which without any reason, he took so much pains to contradict, matter enough for a more pertinent, and more ample parallel. He might have observed the great King of Heaven and Earth, in a Parliament of Angels; bestowing the Land *Canaan*, on the Descendants of *Abraham*, for the Rebellion of the Inhabitants, and this gift again confirmed by him to them many hundred years after, even in that other great Parliament of Angels and Men, both which he held on *Sina Mount*, amidst lightnings and thunders, and those terrible voices, and the sound of Clarions mingled in that loud dinn; confirmed, I say, with so much solemnity, and even confirmed in his written Laws, given there by *Moses* to the Children of *Israel*; and yet confirmed in a special command, given them, never to make Peace or Truce with the old Inhabitants of *Palestine*, not even with the

the *Amorites* by name. He might have remembred the vast expence of an Army of 600000 fighting men, employ'd by him to get possession of them, even by force and blood, and by so many prodigious miracles and wonders, and Kings slain, and Monsters quell'd, and Cities overthrown, and Kingdoms harraz'd and ruined for ever, to make way for his beloved People to enjoy the gift he had once made to them so solemnly. He might, after this, have considered, a Treaty of Peace entertained, nevertheless, with some of those very Nations, with the *Gibeonites*, I say, who were the Children of *Amorites*, and a Peace concluded with them by *Josuah*, even God's own Lieutenant over his peculiar chosen people, and by his 12 great Captains, and without the knowledge or consent of any other Assembly, Council, or Parliament of *Israel*, or of his great Army, or of the infinite number of other persons, young men, old men, and women, and children of *Abraham* and *Jacob's* posterity, who yet were all highly concerned in the effects of it, as being in part destructive to their rights, and lessening the gift which God made to them, and quitting their claim to so many great Cities, and the territories adjoyning. He might further have remembred the delusion and circumvention were such, whereby those *Gibeonites* obtained the Peace, that they were not known, or thought by *Josua*, or by his Captains, to be Inhabitants of that Land, which God had bestowed on the Children of *Israel*: the tatter'd rags, and old Shooes and wine bottles rent, and the dry and mouldy bread of these crafty Inhabitants, and even those manifest express verbal lies, which the *Book of Josuah* relates, having been made use of by the fearful *Gibeonites* to circumvent *Josuah*, till he concluded with them. He might likewise have remembered the advancing of the Camp within three dayes after this Treaty perfected, to the very Cities of the *Gibeonites*, to storm them, as being within the Lot of that Army of God, and such as they had been long before commanded by God himself, and in his Law, to Conquer, even by destroying utterly the Inhabitants, root and branch: And might remember the Countermand given by *Josuah* nevertheless, when he understand they belonged

to those he made Peace with, and this Countermand given, and yet a further command, to observe strictly the Articles, yea notwithstanding the general murmurings of his Army and people against him: This great Commander of the Legions of God, who had in all his enterprizes the Spirit of God, judging it without any peradventure, to be the pleasure of this great King of Kings, as flowing from the Dictates of natural Reason, that such as, though by such arts, had undisposed themselves to a War, and their own defence, and wholly relied on his word, should be protected in all their rights, and their Articles observed most religiously to them, and that no commands of God in his positive Laws, though in general terms seemingly against it, did reach to this, or such a particular Case. Finally, our Person of Quality might have considered the *Gibeonites* not only interceded for four principal Cities in particular, and for the territories adjoining, but were even themselves and their Cities, professors of Idolatry, and Heathenisme, and worshipers of false Gods: as on the other side *Josuah* and his Army, and people, the propagators of the only true worship of the God of Heaven.

132. Our Person of Quality might have considered all this; which if he had, and then reflected on the Rebellion of *Ireland*, even of those very Septs, which without question he accounts not only as pricks in his sides, and thorns in his eyes, but even as bad as the *Canaanites, Hittites, &c.* or the very worst of the *Amorites*, and to be extirpated, as these were, out of the good Land flowing with milk and honey (but not the Land of Promise, I hope, to him alone, or to the Saints of his Calender) and after did reflect on a good King, his late Majesty so justly incensed by this provocation, and on his Parliament, and Laws of 17 Carlii, and on his donation and division therein of the Rebels Estates, and on the Army employed, and Captains made, and the great Commander of them in that Kingdom under his Majesty, and on the bloody, though just prosecution of that War, and Battails fought, and Legions vanquished, and the better part of the four Provinces of *Ireland* utterly destroyed; if he had then remembered the application made

to his Majesty and his Lieutenant , and the Treaty admitted, and a Peace concluded even with those very Septs , before designed for destruction , even that very *Peace of 48.* I mean : if, I say, our Person of Quality had soberly consider'd all this , and the circumstances , and the advantages , which are for me , certainly he might have seen matter e-nough for a more pertinent and more ample parallel ; and might have seen it in the Kings , in the Subjects , in the Lands or Countries , in the Crimes , in the just offences , in the resolutions of punishment , in the Parliaments , in the Laws of Donation and Partition , in the Armies and Commanders , in the sharp prosecutions of the War , in the Treaties nevertheless entertained with the Rebels , and Peaces concluded with them ; in the murmuring complaints of Armies , and of inconsiderate People , and in their unjust endeavours to ruin those for ever , and specially four Cities , who relying on the words of their great Commanders , unfurnished themselves of all means for defence. And he might have seen, that considering the powerfull, though most ungodly, endeavours , and wicked arguments used to perswade his most Sacred Majesty not to regard the performance of that Peace , *P. W.* cannot be justly said to have in that occasion unjustly applyed , or made use of the Judgements of God on *Saul* and his Children , for being mis-lead by such perfidious Counsels against the Laws of God, Nature, and Nations. Not that *P. W.* did wish, (as God knows he did not , but was and is from the bottom of his Soul far e-nough from any such wish) that in the conditional contingency of such non-performance , or of such a breach by his Majesty with those can justly pretend to the benefit of that Peace , the like, or indeed any other Judgements should light on himself , or on his Posterity ; but that his Majesty might be minded of this example, as of an antidote against the poyson of such Viperous Counsellors , as our Person of Quality seems to be , and the rest of his Consorts , that with so much importunitie , so much falsity , and such other evil arguments (which I will not mention here) did then sollicite , as they do still , for the perpetual destruction of all Irish Catholicks , that is to say , of more than a million of people ;

people ; yea of a great , though as yet (through such arts ,
and the endeavours of this Gentleman , and his Associates)
uncomfortable Nation and Kingdom to the generality of Catholick
Natives , and did and do sollicite for the ruining
them so for ever , without any regard of their Articles , or
of Publick Faith given them with so much solemnity by two
great and good Kings , and upon considerations so valuable ,
as the World knows ; Nay did , and do at this very present ,
sollicit this destruction , to involve even those of that Nation
and Religion , who are confessedly innocent (of the
Rebellion or prosecution of it , or of any breach of Articles ,
or Peace) which yet is so well known , to be againt
the most known fundamental Laws of the Land , and againt
all Divine and Humane Laws , and againt the very firt
Dictates , or even glimmers of Natural reason , that I need
not dilate upon it any further .

133 But that I may not seem to decline observing the advantages this Person of Quality proposed to himself in that Parallel he would needs frame for me , let us consider every Particular apart .

Pag. 90. 1. *Josua* (sayes he) knew not the Persons of those with whom
he made that League ; neither did the King know the hearts of
those with whom he made that Peace . I would fain know of this
Gentleman , whether *Josua* knew the hearts of the *Gibeonites* ? Or whether any of both sides , that make Peace or
League , whatever they be on Earth , the hearts of the other ? The *French* of the *Spaniards* , or *Spaniards* of the
French ; the *English* of the *Hollanders* , or *Hollanders* of the
English ? And since he must answer not , then I demand ,
where is the advantage hence for him , that his Majesty
knew not the hearts of those with whom he made that
Peace ? Or is the Peace therefore not obligatory ? Indeed
were the Persons of the *Irish* unknown to his Majesty , and
his Lieutenant , who treated with them , and so unkown (I
say) to both , as to think they had not been of the *Irish*
Nat on at all , but *English* or *Scots* inhabiting some other
Tract of Land , and some other Cities than those they did ;
or had his Majesty , and Lieutenant . been so ignorant of
those *Irish* Commissioners , that they had taken them at that
time

time to be another People , or of another Country , not of that which was before , and through their Rebellion , forfeitable to the Crown , and by the A^t of 17. Caro^l, of the Parliament of Westm^{ster} (if that be of any force in Irland) to be assured to , and shared am^{ng}st adventurers and Soldiers ; then might this Gentleman with some reason say the Articles obliged not ; whereas there was an error about the very Persons ; than which nothing seems more against freedom of consent , as to that wherein the error is , even that essential freedom , I mean , without which a man hath no free consent in any sense at all . And yet in this case my Parallel would be more plain in the extension of it ; but his advantage no more , but rather less , as from thence , to any purpose he ought to drive at .

2. Those were Neighbours , nay lived am^{ng}st the Israelites , to whom Joshua promised Peace , though they said they were of a far Country . The Irish were Neighbours at least locally ; nay they lived long am^{ng}st us , though at last they would not let us live am^{ng}st them : But indeed they were from a very far Country , even from Rome it self . Behold Reader two manifest impostures in a few lines . The Confederate Catholicks , when such , or come to be joyned in a body , or social defence , and have a general Assembly , which they had very soon after the first insurrection , were so far from denying English , Scots , or any other Protestant Subjects to his Majesty to live am^{ng}st them , that even in their printed model of Government , which I suppose this Gentleman bath , they invited all such as pleased , to come , and live am^{ng}st them . And their being from a very far Country , even as far as Rome , in this Gentleman's sense , or their being so far from Rome , that they acknowledge any dependence from the Pope in Temporal affairs , or any that are not purely Spiritual , or such a dependence , as cannot stand with a most Christian , most Loyal , and indispensable Allegiance by any on Earth , to his Sacred Majesty King Charles the 2. of England , Ireland and Scotland , the former Declarations , Protestations , and their famous opposition of the Lord Nun^{cio} , and of his Excommunications and Interdicts in the Case of the Cessation with the then B^rton , now E^a T^h Inc.

chiquin, and the Book printed at Kilkenny, and subscribed by *David Oforiensis*, and approved by *Thomas Midensis*, and subscribed and approved by the rest of the Divines convoked to that purpose, entituled, *Querries concerning the lawfulness of the present Cessation, &c.* (whereof *P. W.* is known, and confesses himself to have been the Author) manifestly convince they are not. Yet I confess most freely and truly, they are, as to their Religion, from a Country, as far as *Rome*, because they received it thence, and from Countries too, in that, as far as *Constantinople*, *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, or *Hierusalem*, as all the People of *England* have had theirs (even from *Rome* I say) for a 1000. years, and amongst them a hundred millions of people, that have been all their lives, as unalterably loyal to their Princes, as any people could be, and more loyal without comparison, than I doubt this Person of Quality can pretend himself to be, or at least to have been sometime in his life past.

But suppose, that notwithstanding their being Neighbours at least locally, and their living long with this Person of Quality, and amongst those he makes his own, they have, after a War begun, not suffered Protestants live among them; and suppose likewise they had been all that while, in his meaning, from a Country as far as *Rome* it self, what will he conclude? Were they farther off in judgement than the *Gibeonites* from *Israel*? Or would the *Gibeonites* more endure, if they could help it, the *Israelites* to live with them? Or whatever may be said to this, or whatever the carriage of the *Irish* was to the *English*, or Protestants, or their affections too, or dependence from *Rome* in temporal things, or such as could not stand with their true Allegiance to their King, before the Peace, must have been so after? Or did not the Articles of Peace which themselves freely concluded, tie them to a contrary resolution? As the League did the *Gibeonites* from that alienation they had before? Or did the *Gibeonites* really perform? And could not; nay did not the *Generality*, or the Representative of the *Irish* likewise? I have manifestly proved they did so, whatever this Gentleman imposes on them:

And

And however , through the contradiction of some , and the fatal division of all amongst themselves , their endeavours , either for his Majesty , or themselves , proved unsuccessful , as to the great end was driven at , and expected from them . But if the want of success be made use of to asperse them , must not the *Protestant Cavanders* ly under the like aspersi-
on ? Must not all the just men that ever have been in the World , and have been withall unfortunate , suffer like-
wise ?

— *Careat successibus opo-*
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

Was the Poets answer to those that measured the justice of endeavours by success .

And if notwithstanding all this , our Person of Quality will infest on the *being* of the *Irish Papists from Rome* , I would fain know what Country *Geneva* is in ? Or cannot this Person of Quality 's most religious Brethren Presbyters , either *Scots* , *Irish* , or *English* , be said to be as truly from *Geneva* , as the Papists from *Rome* ? And whether of both these *beings* , especially considering that sense the *Irish Papists* own theirs , must be most dangerous to the King , or even to Kingship it self ? And I am sure it matters not , that *Rome* be farther off in Place , if *Geneva* be farther in Principles , that relate to the Royal Person , Dignity , and Crown , and to the Obedience and Faith of Subjects to his Majesty .

3. Those deluded Jos' ali into that League , and said they were his Servants when they were his Enemies . The Irish Papists PAG. 91. did also delude the King into that Peace , and said they were Subjects , when indeed they were Rebels . But how can it be true , that the Parallel holds in this *delusion* , which yet this Gentleman so confidently avers immediately after , where he hath those words , *Thus far the Parallel holds* . Did not my Lord Lieutenant , who in behalf of his Majesty concluded that Peace , know whether the *Irish* , that on the other side concluded it , were Subjects , or indeed Rebels ? Did not his Grace , nay did not his Majesty , both by his Grace , and by many other ways , abundantly know , for so many years they warred , and treated before the Peace of 48. all

the several humours, inclinations, intrigues, interests; affections, and aversions of the several known parties, whereof the Confederates were composed? Or was the difference with the *Nuncio* at that time unknown to his Majesty? Or the Civil war that succeeded in the very bowels of the Confederates, where the Supreme Council, and their adherents (who were indeed the far more considerable party) and even the generality of the Confederates, upon conjunction with the Lord of Inchiquin, in order to reduce themselves and the whole Kingdom to submit throughly to, and obey his Majesty, and the Lord Lieutenant, pursued with fire and sword, and all other acts of open hostility, even fights and sieges, those refractory Confederates, than under *Owen O'Neil*, and in conjunction with him, opposed their very loyal designes? Or could his Majesty, or my Lord Lieutenant, but know the danger they saw manifestly, that a Party would still, as long as they could, oppose all conditions of Peace, and endeavour to frustrate both his Majesties designs, and that of the Supreme Council too and General Assembly, and of those Irish Commissioners from both, and from the people they represented in concluding that Peace? Or did these Commissioners assure, or the Articles they concluded on, warrant for them that *Owen O'Neil*'s party would submit, or would drive at the main design of his Majesty? All which Queries must be answered so for my advantage, that this Gentleman will find none at all to justifie any delusion of the part of the Irish Catholiques that concluded this Peace, not although I granted him that the Irish Papists did say they were Subjects, when indeed they were Rebels; For yet there could be no delusion, since they were known to be in Armes, and professed their resolution not to lay them down without Articles; and yet they had spoken a known truth, saying, *They were Subjects, since their Birth, and the Laws made them still remain Subjects, even when they were most disobedient and refractory.* And they were not only Subjects, but loyal obedient Subjects too, when they had concluded those Articles, and really devoted themselves of that power, whereof they made use till then to defend themselves, or offend others, and when

his Majesties Lieutenant, the then Marquess of *Ormond*, and his Majesty himself, had assented to those Articles, and accordingly governed the *Irish Catholicks*, and no more accounted them *Rebells*, but owned them indeed, and in very clear express terms (both in the Articles themselves, immediately after the *All of Recognition*, and in the *Proclamation* prefixed unto them, and in a thousand other instances) as *His Majesties Roman Catholick Subjects of Ireland*, and *His loyal and dutiful Subjects*. But this Gentleman, not forgetting, as it seems, the greater guilt of others, whom he wished better than he did the *Irish*, and whom yee he knew to have been farr more hainously, and more obstinately guilty of both particulars charged here on these, he would be sure to cry Whore first, and would be sure by no means to use the language of his Majesty, or of the Lord Lieutenant.

Articles
of Peace,
Pag. 6. or
1. and
Pag. 3,

134. Having done with his Parallel, the Reader may next consider, how well this Gentleman will now shew, as he promises, *in what, and how much*, that Scripture Example of mine differs from the Case it was applyed unto in my Letter.

1. *The Gibeonites deluded Joshua into a Peace; but the Irish Papists* (to use his sacred Majesties own words) *forced, compelled, necessitated him into Cessations and Peaces*. Had this been true, there had indeed appeared some difference, though none material to his purpose. But as it is manifest, that *no force, compulsion, necessity*, put on his Majesty, by whomsoever, hath been such as deprived him of that freedom was sufficient to render his Articles with the *Catholicks of Ireland* binding as to his Majesty, and binding even before God and Man, in ord're to such as have not forfeited them (whereon I said enough before), and that therefore it is impertinent for any material difference, or to this Gentleman's purpose, whether I reject or admit his Charge here, being it cannot be denied, that the *delusion* whereof the *Gibeonites* made use, imposed a farr greater, and even an intrinsick force, compulsion, or necessity on *Joshua*, or such as deprived of essential freedom, and all kind of consent, as to these *Gibeonites*; or to any had been

within the Lot appointed in the Law for his People , which yet I have shewed the *force, compulsion, or necessity*, imposed on his Majesty (by whomsoever) to conclude any of those Cessations or Peaces with the *Irish* , cannot be said to have imposed : So it is no less manifest , this Gentleman imposes on his Majesty that which he shall never prove, or that his Majesty should have said , that the *Irish Papists forced, compelled, necessitated, him into Cessations and Peaces.* Whereas indeed , if we make any true construction of his Majesties words in his Declaration , whence only this Gentleman must pretend his ground , for an assertion so false , it must be obvious, even to the most common understanding , that his Majesty sayes , that *force, compulsion, necessity*, for concluding a Peace with the *Irish* , were imposed upon him *by those that erected that odious Court for taking away the life of his dear Father* , as I have before demonstrated, by giving and granting at large his Majesties very words .

Pag. 91. 2. *The Gibeonites were strangers, but the Irish Papists were (at least ought to have been) Subjects.* All true ; but nothing to his purpose. Articles made by a King with his Subjects in Armes , bind , even by the Law of Nations , even before they are confirmed in Parliament , else what could the *Barons* plead before a Parliament late , if *Magna Charta* did not bind the King that gave it ? What so many other agreements in the world , as I have before said ? Or how should Kings , or their Rebellious Subjects , when a Parliament can not be held without them , ever come to an attonement ? And surely this very Gentleman would plead for his life , and his estate too (since he can now to possess other mens) the Letters from *Breda* , even before the Act of Indempnity was passed : and when he was in Armes against the King , (as I suppose he was sometimes) had he yielded in some extremity upon Articles of War , wherein he had conditioned for life , liberty , and estate , for himself and his party , he would plead these Articles , if he saw any danger of his or their estates , and even plead them , before such Articles were confirmed by a Parliament ; nay plead them , I say , even in case his own estate and all thole belonging to his party , had been formerly sold or bestowed by the King on Adventurers

turers in Parliament. And yet both he and his party would be in that case, by the Laws and Conditions of his and their Birth, Subjects. Whether he or they be so by inclination, or longer at least than the leaves will hold, I know not certainly; though I hope better of them all, than this Person of Quality seems to do of me or my Countrymen.

3. *The Gibeonites never broke those conditions granted to them*, though by these conditions they were in effect Slaves; but the Irish Papists broke, yea often, if not always, theirs, though after an unparalleled Rebellion they were in effect made Lords of all the Land, even the bloody Stage upon which they had acted their guilt. Lest this Gentleman should have intended it as material to say, that the Gibeonites were in effect Slaves, I must tell the Reader, these Gibeonites enjoyed peaceably, without fear, or danger, when their Articles had been once published and debated, not their lives only, nor their liberty alone, but life and liberty, and houses, and goods, and lands, and Cities, and all they did pretend either of religious or civil right. And that their slavery was no other than to provide Water and Wood for the Sacrifices and publick House of the God of Heaven. And therefore any man will think they had a great deal of reason never to break those conditions granted. And albeit I think there was as little reason for any Irish Catholick to break the conditions given them, especially in that Peace of 48. and that I know nevertheless some, if not many, have; yet I do (and will constantly, till I be convinced with other arguments, than this answerer gives, which I believe I shall never be) always deny the universality, generality, or indefiniteness of this proposition, *The Irish Papists broke, yea often, if not always, theirs*, in that sense at least he must have had, or intended to import, if he would speak to any purpose; that is, in relation to the Peace of 48. in which meaning, as I have before sufficiently declared, by relating this Gentleman's proofs, and otherwise, the falsity of this assertion: so I now again briefly averr, that neither the universality, or generality, nor greater part, nor ruling power; nor the formal or virtual representatives of the Irish Papists, broke as much as once that Peace: so far were they

they from breaking often, if not always the conditions of it. And if none of all these did ; though confessedly some of the Irish did , or the lesser , or even a great , or considerable part of them (if he will have it so) did , what is that to the Universality, or Generality at least , which that indefinite charge of his imports ? or what indeed , to any other Irish Catholick (to conclude them) but the very individuals that did so ? He might as well , and as truly have said , that the Protestants of England , or English Nation were against the King ; and for Cromwel , or the Rump Parliament ; when both or either did most cruelly Tyrannize : For not only some of those Protestants , or of that Nation , but even so great and considerable a party were so ; nay , which is more , both the representing and ruling power , which the Protestants , or Nation of England were known at that time to own , or at least , which in effect , and even with all formalities represented and ruled them (whether by force and coaction , or not , it matters not here) without any contradiction were so . Whence it is that I may advance a little further yet , and may tell this Gentleman , that can be no refuge for him , if he should say , that he can maintain peradventure , some appearance of Truth in some part , at least of this proposition , that the Irish Papists broke yea often , if not always , theirs : or , (which is the thing I mean) that he can maintain that latitude , universality , generality , or indefiniteness , in relation at least to some one breach , and some one Peace , viz. that of 46. For I can averr confidently , that all his arguments to prove this , will by a manifest sequel of reason , prove , that the Protestants or Nation of England , broke all their ties of Duty , and Allegiance , and Faith to his late Majesty , and his lawfull Successor (whom God , of his mercy , contine long and happily , and g'loriously sitting on his Fathers Throne , and his Posterity to the Worlds end) I confess that Peace was rejected , and most perfidiously , scandalously , and fatally too , rejected ; but I will ever say , nevertheless , it was rejected by a disobedient Army , by some (in that) ungodly Clergy men , and a few other contrivers of mischief , who by their numbers , proceedings , hypocrisy , force , craft , &c. and by their breach of their own Oath

Oath of Association , and by their faithfulness to their own acknowledged supreme Governours of the Confederacy , the Council , and general Assembly , and by making themselves by such arts the prevailing party amongst the Irish Catholicks , at that very nick of time when the Peace of 46. was proclaimed in *Dublin & Kilkenny*, not only may be said to have had in many things a perfect resemblance unto the Janizaries of *England* , and their Adherents there in the Parliament , and Council , and amongst the Clergy and Laity in general , but even to have had the same proportion to the Confederate Catholicks in general , which those *English Mamalukes* , and their partakers , had to the royal Protestants , and mournful (at that time) Nation of *England*. To demonstrate which , I shall give more evident proofs , if it shall , and when it shall be necessary , as now it is not in answer to this Gentleman's present Design , or Book , than he shall be able to give satisfactory answers. And shall at this time content my self with telling the Reader , that if the (then *Donogh.*) *Lord Viscount of Muskry* (now Earl of Clancarthy) *Edmond Lord Viscount Montgarrett* , *Walter Bagnell Esquire* , *Sir Robert Talbot Baronet* , *Thomas Tyrell Esquire* , *Richard Bealkins Esquire* , *Ceross Fenwick Esquire* , *Sir Lucas Dillon Knight* , *Geoffry Brown Esquire* , *Sir Pierce Crosby Knight* , *Sir Richard Blake* , and other Members of the supreme Council , and Commissioners , who concluded that Peace , and published it at *Kilkenny* , and in pursuance thereof , received there the Lord Lieutenant with all due respects and demonstrations of hearty joy and loyalty , their imprisonments soon after , both there , at *Wexford* , and other places , and their other sufferings then , by , and under their lately before fellow-Confederates , and the power or authority by which they were so imprisoned , and under which they so much suffered , & the illegal , violent , forcible usurpation of it , even . I say , against the Laws of the Confederacy , and Oath of Association , and without any consent , or even advice , or requisition , but plainly against the known will and inclinations of the generality of the Confederates , when the *Lord Nuncio* , and two or three more , by the countenance and terror of armed Legions

backing them, made a new supreme Council, and himself President of it, and joyned Council and Congregation together; and immediately after hurried on two Armies, in an evil hour, to besiege the Lord Lieutenant at Dublin, and harass'd the Country in their march, und being disappointed by the justice of God towards them, and favour of Heaven to the Loyal Party, and to the generality, even of the Confederates, returned in great displeasure and rage, and through despair, convoked an Assembly, which otherwise he was never like to do, but of such men where they could possibly, as were known to be most averse from all thoughts of Peace, and being late, overawed them, and took away all freedom from them, however they were composed, and even forced them by threats of Excommunications, and power of that Army (near the Town) whereof they were sure for such delignes, to reject the Peace, even after the Commissioners, who concluded it, were cleared upon too manifest evidence to have proceeded according to their instructions to a title, and by a full Authority given them by the precedent General, and free Assembly of the Nation: I say, that if all these proceedings be considered, and particularly the force that lay then upon all the Provinces, and Quarters, and People that should otherwise have freedom of Election to Assemblies, and Suffrages in them, and that would, in case of such due freedom, unquestionably vote for a perfect Submission to that Peace, the resemblance and proportion above given will appear manifestly to all indifferent men, that have but even a very ordinary knowledge of the Irish Nation, and affairs since 41. and of the difference of interests among that People these 500. years past; since the first English Conquest under Henry 2. and consequently it will appear, that our Person of Quality will find himself obliged either to maintain a truth in this very false assertion (which yet I believe he will not dare.) *The Protestants and Nation of England were guilty of the sacrilegious breach with Charles the 1.* which through so many miles brought him at last to the Scaffold: Or to confess, that the Irish Catholicks, or Nation of Ireland, cannot be said to be guilty, even of that one perfidious breach

breach of the Articles of 46. much less guilty of having sien,
if not always, broke the Conditions, either of that, or any other. And yet I alwayes grant him what I know to be true, and am right sorry to know, that even some thousands have been guilty of that horrible breach in 46. Nay grant moreover, all my Conscience, or knowledge, or (which is the same thing to me) all that the truth it self will permit me to grant him, that some few Persons of Quality, and some Regiments, and some Towns too of the *Irish Catholicks*, *have often, if not always broke the Conditions*, either of the first, or last Peace, or of both, but withall say, that some Persons of Quality, and some Regiments of *England* (and *Sotland* both) and some Towns too, broke their Allegiance and Faith, and often too, if not alwayes, in a farr more pernicious and horrible nature, with his late and present Ma-jesty. And that my Answerer will not therefore charge their Crimes on the Protestants, or Nation of *England*, or on the universality, generality, or greater part of them, which yet such an indefinite expression had he used it must do.

135. But however this be, or any thing else I have said in relation to that Peace of 46, it can neither make nor marr his Objections or my Answers on the subject of the last Peace, or that of 48. which is that only whereon our contest is, and must be. Neither can any thing said here be drawn to a consequence that I would recall, or decline what I have confessed in my *Letter of the Judgements of God*, most justly pursuing the *Irish Nation* in general for the breach of publick Faith so notorious and scandalous in that of 46. albeit the Nation in general be not guilty of it. We know the very Army of God hath been defeated for the sin even of one man alone, as we find in the case of *Achan* ^{Judges.} ^{Chap. 7.} at *Ai*, and whole Nations, and great Kingdoms, and flourishing Empires most exemplarily punished, and by conquest, ^{V 4. 2. d} ^{s.} and slavery and subjection to a forein power for the sins of the lesser part of the people, and sometimes for those of a very few; and Innocents too involved in the common calamity, but involved justly by him who is above all Laws, by his Sovereign Dominion over all Creatures, and by that privilege which is incommunicable to any earthly Judge or

King, doing Justice in a legal way, where he may discriminate persons.

136. To that which our Person of Quality adds here, to end his third difference, *that the Irish after an unparallel'd Rebellion were in effect made Lords of all Ireland, even the bloody stage upon which they had acted their guilt,* I say that in a few words are two manifest untruths, and one superfluous impertinent exaggeration, so often repeated; and one too, which may be returned on himself; and those he pleads for, not only with so many wicked Maxims, and sinfull advices, but with so many known falsities and impertinencies.

137. Though I detest all kind of Rebellion against lawfull power, as being condemned by the Laws of God and Nature, yet I can tell this Gentleman, that Rebellion of Ireland was not only parallel'd, but surpassed, and surpassed too in a thousand degrees by many Rebellions of other Countries, even amongst Christians. For not to speak of that of *Catalonia* in our own days, the *Sicilian Vespers*, and the Butchery of *Switzerland*, and the murther of the *Danes in England*, and a hundred others which we read in History, did surpass it, and surpass it so. And all those did that by design, and in effect subverted the very fundamentals of all Government, Civil and Religious. And I am sure if none else did, that of this Gentleman's Clients, and their partakers must have done so, who made their Rebellion the most unparallel'd indeed, by the most execrable Parricide that ever was; *not to mention* so many other adjuncts to render it in, comparably worse than that of the *Irish*, the cruel butchery of so many thousand subjects, the perpetual ruine of so many millions of innocent people in the three Nations, and the subversion, in part executed, and for the rest intended of all the very fundamentals of the Commonwealth, both Temporal and Ecclesiastical; yea of all Religion, and of all propriety and birth-right whatsoever.

And though I acknowledge (and hope all *Irish Catholicks* do) his Majesties very gracious Concessions and favours in the Articles of 48. Yet I must tell this Gentleman those very Articles no less manifestly convince of untruth what he says here, that by them, or otherwyise, *the Irish were in eff-*

fell made Lords of all Ireland, then it is apparent out of the very Articles (and no man of reason would believe otherwise, though he never had read them, and yet seen this Gentleman's assertion to the contrary) they were not such as forced from his Majesty all the *Regalia*, both Ecclesiastical and Temporal; nay I say now, nor any essential or integral part of the *Regalia*; albeit this Gentleman affirms in another they were; and I have already proved they were not. And if this be true, my answer to his Objection, concerning the *Regalia*, as it is evidently such, without any question or contradiction, but that very untrue and very irrational one of this Person of Quality; how can it be true, that the Irish were in effect by these Articles made Lords of all Ireland? (For to have been made otherwise, he doth not dispute, as there is no ground for any such dispute) Nay since the Irish Catholicks, by these Articles, or otherwise, were not made Lords, or did not pretend the Lordship, Right, Possession, or Use of any Protestants Goods, Lands, Houses, Estates, &c. either English, Scots, Welsh, Irish, or of any other Nation, having right by his Majesties Laws, or pretending such to live in Ireland, how could they, in effect, be made Lords of all Ireland? So far they were from any such thing, that they excluded not any, nor were made capable to exclude any at all, from any kind of Rights, either Civil or Religious; the very possession of such Churches, as they then held in their own quarters, at the making of that Peace, not being assured them otherwise by those Articles, than that they should be permitted, or of Peace, should not be disturbed from that possession, till a Parliament Pag. 8.
Art. 1.

As for his exaggerating repetition of *the bloody Stage*, upon which they had acted their guilt, I am sure he may be upon certain grounds, and particular instances, answered: 1. by charging those who are his white boyes with having made that Stage more bloody, and as inhumanly too; nay yet far more than those very Irish miscreants of the rascal multitude have; that added their guilt even of so barbarous murderers, either precedently, concomitantly, or subsequently (however this Gentleman will have it) upon their fellow

Subjects of the Protestant Religion in that Country : Whereof if he will see some particulars , I refer him to R. S. in his Book printed at London , 1662. intituled , *A Collection of some of the Murthers and Massacres committed on the Irish in Ireland , since the 23. of October, 1641.*

2. By denying his supposition of the Irish Nation, or Catholicks of Ireland , or of their known Representatives (the Supreme Council , or General Assembly , or Commissioners that concluded that Peace) or of the generality , nay of any considerable party of the people , after at any time confederated with the rest , or that submitted to that Peace , or now desire the benefit of it , to have so acted their guilt upon that Stage , as to be guilty of the bloodines of it by any barbarous or inhumane Crimes of Murther (which I know this Gentleman aims at in this exaggrating repetition) For if he mean any thing else , or that of the breach , it is answered already . And that he may see I give him not a bare denial for an answer , I refer him to the 18 Article of that Peace of 48. where , in the 21 Page of these Articles , printed , he may read the publick delires of that whole Nation :

Articles of Peace such barbarous and inhumane crimes as shall be particularized and agreed upon by the said Lord Lieutenant , and the said Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costiloe , Lord President of Connacht , Donogh , Lord Viscount Muskery , Francis Lord Baron of Athenry , Alexander M. Domel Esquire , Sir Lucas Dillon Knight , Sir Nicholas Plunket Knight , Sir Richard Barnewall Baronet , Jeffrey Brown , Donagh O Callaghan , Tirlagh O Neile , Miles Reilly , and Gerald Fennel Esquire , or any seven or more of them , as to the actors and procurers thereof , be left to be tryed and adjudged by such indifferent Commissioners , as shall be agreed upon by the said Lord Lieutenant , and the said Thomas Lord Viscount Dillon of Costiloe , &c. or any seven or more of them , and that the power of the said Commissioners shall continue only for two years next ensuing after the date of their Commission , &c. And I refer him (besides) to the several Petitions of late exhibited by Sir Robert Talbot Baronet , and Colone Gerrold Moore , and others in behalf of their Countrymen to his Majesty at London ,

don, when a Committee of the Council sat there, or the whole Council did upon the debate betwixt the Convention Commissioners first, and after these betwixt the present Parliament of Dublins Commissioners of one side, and those of the Irish Catholicks of the other, at several times; And referr him likewise to some other Papers, then printed at London, in answer to some writings published or given by those of the Convention against the said Catholicks, and on this Subject. In which Petitions and printed Papers, as likewise in so many other publick and private addresses at both times, the request of the Catholick Irish Nobility and Gentry there, was very urgent in behalf of themselves and the whole Nation of their party, that all murthers on both sides, might be without any exception tryed, and punished according to Law.

139. Now wherefore the publick and known Representatives of the Confederates, the general Assembly of the whole Nation, which consisted of their Lords Spiritual and Temporal, Knights of Shires, and Burgesies of Corporations, did provide so for the punishment of all barbarous and inhumane Crimes committed by any of their own sides; and the Commissioners, Nobility, and Gentry at London, since his Majesties Restauration, did petition and desire, that all murthers of both sides may be exempted from any pardon, or out of any general Act of Oblivion and Indempnity, and that this Gentleman's Friends, for whom he pleads, would not assent to this, there is no man of reason but understands it was therefore because the Irish Nation, who concluded and submitted to that Peace, were not guilty of the bloodiness of that Stage, by barbarous or inhumane Crimes or by Murthers, notwithstanding any other guilt that might be justly charg'd upon them: And that those who charge them so exorbitantly with such, found themselves, or those of their Party, more truly chargeable with more numerous, and more barbarous, and more inhumane Crimes and Murthers, which in a superlative degree blooded that very Stage too of Ireland, whereon they had acted, and yet but partly, their own proper guilt: For many of them did likewise partly act their guilt, also, on that of Great Britain, even

the most horrid guilt imaginable , by the most bloody , and most execrable Murther (and in the most unheard of , and most hideous manner) of the best and most innocent of Kings .

Pag. 91. 4. But his 4th. and last difference (in the Cases) remains as yet . Saul's Children were not executed (sayes he) for their Father his having made the Gibeonites hewers of wood , and drawers of water (the utmost that the Protestants desire even to the worst principled of the Irish Papists) but for killing the Gibeonites after they were peaceably slaves ; So that those Judgements P. W. seems to threaten his Majest y with , if they have not the Articles of 164^o made good , he and his Countrymen have only reason to fear ; for his Majesty kept them , and they have broke them . The Man in the dark in England was once upon thoughts of relying on this difference ; but immediately after , finding the unsignificancy of that evasion , and his own weakness therein , or rather indeed the clearness , and evidence , and applicableness of my Example to the purpose I drove , and of all passages of holy Scripture made use of by me in my Letter , changed his resolution , and confessed in plain terms , he would not answer me at this weapon : Adding too some prophane expressions , that not unsignificantly importred he would not have the Saints governed by the Oracles of God , or believe in them , but when they made for gaining or preserving to them the good things of the Earth . And that so manifest confession of his made me slight in my Reply to his *Irish Colours displayed* , the transient reflection he made on the Gibeonites being made hewers of wood , and drawers of water .

140. But for as much as a Person of Quality professedly insists upon it , as his very last refuge , to shew at least some kind of difference that might seem not immaterial , I will not slight his *All madversions* on this subject , but take the pains to prove them as unfortunate , as any of those he hath given all along , either in his Parallel or difference of both Cases , or indeed in any other passage of his Book since he turned Divine . I must therefore let the Reader know , this Gentleman hath not yet declin'd his customary arts , of endeavouring to impose on the simplicity of some , and careless observation

observation of others , in running over his lines , not even to impose (as much as in him lyes) on holy Scripture in this very passage . For I demand of himself , whether he would not have the Reader understand him here , as if King *Saul* had been the man , that made the *Gibeonites bewers of wood , and drawers of water* ? And this to have been a slavery and oppression so grievous , as it might be answerable to that he would perswade his Majesty to lay on the *Irish* , by depriving them for ever of their Estates , of their Cities , Corporations , Villages , Houses , Lands , of all their Liberties , either Civil or Religious ? And to have been moreover against the Articles of the League made with *Josua* ? And besides that , King *Sauls* Children were executed only for their Fathers killing of those *Gibeonites* ? And the three years mortal Famine on the twelve Tribes of *Israel* was for that killing alone ? And that neither this Famine , nor that Execution , have been , even in any part , for any of those other oppressions the *Gibeonites* suffered from *Saul* ? And further yet , that no kind of unjust oppressions of these *peaceable Slaves* , would have had provoked the wrath of God in any wise against *Saul* , or his Children , or the People , had he abstained only from that of killing ? And lastly , that all that Vengeance upon their Tribes , and the seven Children of *Saul* , had no relation to the breach of Articles , or of the League formerly made with the *Gibeonites* , and should have been either deserved by , or inflicted for the cruelty of *Saul* to these poor people , had they never made by themselves , or by their Predecessors before them , any kind of League with the *Israelites* ? If our Person of Quality shall answer , his meaning was not to abuse the Reader so , or to perswade him to any of those Particulars , I demand of him then , what will his acute Animadversion significie , to prove any difference here , that is not very immaterial ? Would it not be (think you Reader) an excellent Ratiocination if this Gentleman discoursed thus in plain terms . *Sauls* Children were not executed , nor the twelve Tribes of *Israel* punished with a grievous Famine of three years , because the *Gibeonites* had been contienued by *Saul* , *bewers of wood , and drawers of Water* , unto the House of the Lord ,

as they had been many hundreds of years before, and had been so without any injury or breach of their first Articles, or any farther slavery imposed upon them; but *Saul's* Children were executed, and the twelve Tribes punished so, because that King did kill some of them, and did not simply kill them, but killed them against Articles, and against Articles sworn unto by invocation of the God of *Israel*; and did not only kill some of them against Articles so confirmed, but attempted to destroy all their Countrymen for ever, and consequently brought on such as did survive all those other miseries and oppressions, which must have attended his cruel attempt, to deprive them, & their Wives, and Children, and all their Nation, of their Cities, of their Corporations, of their Houses, of their Lands, of all their Liberties Religious and Civil, and by consequence of their Lives too, or certainly to bring evils on them worse than death. Therefore his Majesty needs not fear the application of that Example, or of that Judgement of God on the House of *Saul*, or of any part of it, or the like, or of any proportionable to the publick and horrid sin of the notorious breach of Articles, and even the breach of them, by destroying not four Cities, nor four Corporations alone, but a hundred, and twenty or thirty thousand Proprietors, and a million of Relations depending of them; yea a whole and great Nation, by depriving them all for ever of all their Towns, Villages, Houses, Lands, Liberties, both Religious and Civil, and (I say) by depriving them thus against the express letter and sense of Articles of Peace, and of such Articles too, as they had, for their parts, punctually kept; provided only, that his Majesty killed not the *Gibonites*, by shedding their blood, though he make them groan perpetually under oppressions more unsupportable to free-born Subjects than death it self.

141. Think you not (Reader) this would be almost excellent Ratiocination in plain terms? That is, a very false impertinent Conclusion, derived without any Cause, from very true, and very pertinent Premisses? And yet behold that which our Person of Quality, our acute Logician, and very Christian Divine must own, as contained in his fourth Difference,

Difference , if he do not own that first meaning I gave, and all the particulars of it above by me explained, as that indeed which to inferr his wicked Conclusion , must have been virtually contained in so few lines of his fourth Difference.

¶ 42. But lest our Person of Quality be more troubled , that he should be thought to have committed an Errour against the Topicks of Aristotle , and Rules which Logick teaches to guide Argumentations , than he could be known to have , either ignorantly or willfully , imposed on holy Scripture , and no less wickedly for such a purpose , than ungroundedly have commented on it , I will save you Reader , some pains , by examining here every of those Particulars , which he must of necessity insist upon , to maintain that meaning , or any rational inference from such premisses , or material difference in the cases .

¶ 43. And to begin with that of Saul his having made the Gibeonites *hewers of wood , and drawers of water* , I shall give you no further trouble , than to read the ninth Chapter of the Book of Joshua , where you shall find that convinced of manifest imposture . For the one and twentieth , and three and twentieth Verse of that Chapter , tell plainly , it was Joshua himself , and the Princes and People with him (long before Saul's dayes , God wot , even some hundreds of years) that made the Predecessors of those Gibeonites , and Posterity after them for ever , and consequently those in Saul's time , *hewers of wood , and drawers of water , for the House of my God* , saies Joshua himself .

Joshua
9 v. 23.

¶ 44. That this condition imposed on the Gibeonites by Joshua , was neither against Articles , nor at all an oppression so grievous as to be answerable in any kind to those merciless oppressions this Gentleman would press his Majesty to lay for ever on the Catholick Irish , cannot be denied . Not that I mean to say , the Articles did not oblige Joshua before he confirmed them , after true knowledge had of the Country of the People , with whom he made that League , (though I might , upon very good grounds , deny , there was , before them , any obligation on him arising from that League , as barely such , or as abstracting from other circumstances of

natural equity , or of some special revelation of Gods pleasure to confirm it : whereas, relying thereon , the Gibeonites had unturnished themselves of all defence , and made themselves new enemies of all their old friends , the adjoyning Kings) but because the slavery imposed was not against Articles , or the nature of a league made with Strangers become Subjects , or even against the Liberties of natural Subjects , especially in that Commonwealthe , where viler ministeries imposed for the House of God , were accounted no burden , nor oppression : and because the Gibeonites notwithstanding their slavery , which this Gentleman of purpose , would heighten to abuse the Reader with that of *Hewers of Wood , and Drawers of Water* , enjoyed their Goods , their Houses , and their Villages , and their Lands , and their Territories , and their mighty Cities , whereof the tenth Chapter of Joshua tells that *Gaba* was a Royal one . Which kind of slavery I dare promise the Catholicks of Ireland world freely undergoe , to serve the Tabernacle of God , if our Person of Quality and his friends would be content , that his Majesty should let them enjoy withall the other advantages of their Peace , as the Gibeonites did of theirs .

145. Concerning the particular of Saul's Children to have been executed only for killing the Gibeonites , I believe the testimony of the very executioners , those other Gibeonites themselves , who escaped the designs and fury of Saul , nay beyond exception , disprove him , and prove manifestly this truth , that Saul's Children were not executed by them for his only killing of their brethren , but for his other oppressions also , and for his farther designs against all their Countrymen universally : *Virus qui attrivit nos , & opprescit inique , ita delere debemus , ut ne unus quidam residuus sit de stirpe illius in circuitis finibus Israel. Dentur nobis septem viri de filiis ejus , ut crucifigamus eos. Damino in Gaba*

^{1 Sam. 31. 2.} Saul , quondam electi Domini . The man that consumed us , and that devised against us , that we should be destroyed from Chap. 5 , remaining in any of the Coasts of Israel , let 7 men of his Sons and 6. be delivered unto us , and we will hang them up unto the Lord Verse. in Gibeah of Saul , whom the Lord did chuse , are the very words of the Gibeonites that executed them , and witness this truth

truth in the one and twentieth Chapter of the second Book of Kings (as the Title and Order of these Books are in the vulgar Edition) Without question these men that speak here, were then alive , or not killed when they spake thus . And surely the plundering of their Goods , and the beating them out of their Cities , Hous-es , and Lands , the Inheritance of their Fathers , and the bringing upon them all the miseries that are consequent to such a Design and Enterprize , and actual effecting of it , even by the armed power of a King , were other oppressions , and most grievous too , as they were againt the very nature and essence of their League in the highest nature . And therefore the Children of *Saul* were not only executed for having killed their Brethren , but also for these other cruel injustices done to such others as did with their lives escape his fury ; if , I say , the testimony of the very Executioners of these Children be admitted . Whence , and out of those other natural reasons concomitant , as likewise out of the known Declaration of Gods intention and promise , in so many Places and Books of holy Writ (which I omit to give , because I am in hast to conclude my Observations on this Difference , and that those reasons and places are obvious , and by none denied that is a Christian) to punish even whole Kingdomes with most exemplar scourges , even sometimes with the translation of the Principality to another people , for such publick injustices ; and out of the rule , moreover of comparing Scriptures , which rule this Gentleman must admit , the falsity of the three next ensuing Particulars must appear ; and the byassed evill comment which I justly suppose our Person of Quality will make on that of the first Verse of the 21. Chapter 2 of *Samuel* ; because he slew the Gibeonites , must appear likewise : being the words are not exclusive or negative , but positive or affirmative only : and being we may easily understand how the Oracle would have expressed in the fewest words , and most significant ; all those evils of *Saul* against the poor Gibeonites , which provoked Heaven to a punishment so exemplary , even upon the whole Nation represented by him .

146. But in answer to the last particular I need not allege more than the very known Law of God to *Moyses* , where

express command was given the *Israelites* to kill every Mo-
thers Child of the *Amorrites*, and never to make truce
or peace, or league with them. Which is the reason our
Person of Quality must confess, if he deny not Scripture, e-
ven in his own sense of it, that *Saul* and his people had not
sinned at all, nor consequently brought any Judgements of
God upon himself or his Children, or Kingdom after him,
had not his killing the *Gibeonites* been against the conditions
and Articles of that league.

147. So that from first to last, and more especially out of
this observation on that last particular of the meaning, which
he must have, if he mean to say any thing against me, I
may evidently conclude, that in what ever sense this Gen-
tleman would have his fourth Difference understood, or in
to what ever kind of argumentation he would have it moulded,
he cannot inferr any difference that will not appear to
an understanding man, very immaterial, and very imperti-
nent, and no way becoming an Argumentator so acute and
subtile, and laborious too.

148. I had almost forgot what he said in the perclose of
Pag. 92. this undiffering difference, that *his Majesty kept them* (to
wit the Articles of 48.) and they (that is, the *Irish*) *broke them*. Indeed his Majesty hath not only kept them
while he had any power left him (or his Lieutenant or De-
puty in *Ireland*) by this Gentleman's friends, but I am con-
fident will keep them now again, and ever henceforward,
if this Gentleman or his Associates do not put, anew, such
necessities on him, as may hinder the free current of Justice
to all his Subjects indifferently. Which I hope the Prov-
idence that restored our good King so miraculously, and pre-
served the poor Catholicks of *Ireland* alive under so many
changes of Tyrants, will never give any the power to do.
92. And for his assertion of *their having broken them*, I have al-
ready more than sufficiently disproved it in his meaning, or
as to the generality of that Nation.

149. Yet his Parenthesis (Or that the utmost that the Pro-
testants desire, even to the worst principled of the Irish Papists,
is to make them *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*) I do
allow in a good sense. For indeed such as are truly the Pro-
testants,

testants, have more of compassion, to even the greatest Delinquents of the Irish, than to desire their *Transplantation*, to the Isles of *America*, and to send them away even naked, as this Gentleman's Protestants have done to whole Townships of them, and intended to do with all the residue, had not the great mercy of God, and fortune of *Charles the Second*, put a sooner period to their tyranny, than this Gentleman peradventure sometime either expected or desired.

¶ 150. As for his observing transiently that *P. W.* seems to threaten his Majesty with those Judgements come upon the Pa_g Kingdom of *Israel*, and *Saul's Children*, for the breach of Articles: *P. W.* says, the manner of relating those Judgements, the modesty of the language, and his own hearty wishes (in the Letter) immediately following his relation of that Example, leave no ground for this injurious note. *May Providence, and the Kings Righteousness, and your sage Council (my Lord) obstruet all occasions of reflecting on this (and so many other Examples of God's revenge of Article-breaking) any further, than that the best of Kings may see the worst of evils attending the Counsells of our Adversaries, and that their Power, whatever it be, cannot be so dangerous as their Demands against our Articles*, is the hearty prayer of *P. W.* there, against those, or the like, or indeed rather against any kind of Judgements on his Majesty; so false it is that *P. W.* seems to threaten his Majesty with those Judgements. Unless peradventure his Majesties most loyal Counsellours, and fallest Friends, and godliest Prelates, debating a Case, and reasoning for the justice of it, in the absence, or even in the presence too (if you will have it so) of his Majesty, or making publick speeches in the Parliament House, or preaching in the Church, even before all the Estates of the Kingdom, and alleging exemplar punishments of God in former ages, and in the particular of such a controverted Case (as for example, in that of Article-breaking, or of any other you please) and alleging them out of holy Scriptures, and pertinently, and only to dissuade his Majesty from embracing, or to lay before him the dangers of regarding some angodly wicked Coansells that others

others would suggest , and yet alleging such with all due respects for , and answerable affections to his most sacred Majesty : I say , that unless such men , and in such Cases , or in such Auditories , or Places , would seem to threaten his Majesty with those Judgements , they should relate as inflicted exemplarily upon other Princes in the like Case . Neither can P. W. justly be taxed even with seeming to threaten his Majesty with any such : Or if they in such cases would seem indeed to threaten so , and yet be no way blamed , nor blameable therefore , but esteemed by his Majesty , and all good men , faithful , truly loving , and nothing less obser vant and respectful Subjects : Neither can that Observation of this Person of Quality prejudice P. W. in the Judgement of his sacred Majesty , or of any good man , or of any indif ferent or judicious Reader ; especially when P. W. may be known to such as please to enquire after him , to be such a man , as having already given sufficient arguments of his faith , and his affection , and respects , and reverence , and veneration too , of his Majesties most sacred Person , is ready alwayes to run all kind of hazards for him , which any , the most loyal Subject ought , even without expectation of other reward in this World , but what the discharge of his duty , and satisfaction of a good Conscience must make him professor of .

151. After this Gentleman had proved himself (though a cunning , yet) a very bad Expositioner , and no less unfor tunately given all along , and perclosed his Differences , than he made a Parallel to his own disadvantage , he must seek applause from the Reader , at least for some godly ad vice to the Irish Nation first , and then to P. W. Since the breach of Faith is so foul a sin , and deserves such heavy pu nishments , even by P. W's own confession , and since it is fully proved , those , for whom he pleads , have not only once , but often , yea always , broken their agreements ; let them with patience bear what they have drawn upon themselves : and let him henceforth employ his Pen , and his Press , in inviting his Coun trymen , rather to acknowledge his Majesties mercy , that no more are punished , than some are , and that so little too , com paratively to their Crimes . But if that undeniable Maxim holds ,
- Pag. 92.

hold, *Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocunque defectu*, how can this holy Preacher, expect even upon this passage that applause of his Auditory which he proposed to himself? For not to take notice of a *Confession* attributed by him here to *P. W.* where he should ingenuously have himself confessed it was the grand assertion of *P. W.* in that *Letter* (so famous now by *the man in the dark*, and *the Person of Quality's* impugnation of it in two several books) that the breach of Faith is so foul a sin, and deserves such heavy punishments, and therefore allowing (as I must) his first supposition here, without exception, I am confident the Judicious Readers of this impartial Reply will not be perswaded, without farther proof than any, or all he hath given, *that it is fully proved, those for whom P. W. pleads, have not only once, but often, yet always broken their agreements.* *P. W.* pleads the Justice of publick Articles, and of the performance of publique Faith, only to, and for the Irish Nation in general, or as to the generality, or greater part, or (in all contingencies) for those only, who cannot be disproved (before his Majesty or the Lord Lieutenant, or those other men of Honour appointed by his Majesty as impartial Commissioners and Judges) to have forfeited the benefit of those Articles, by an unlawfull breach of them. And *P. W.* desires only his Majesties Royal and mercifull regard of such unfortunate Irish Catholicks as have unlawfully transgressed against that Peace. And I am sure the first (admitted) supposition, or the confession, or assertion too of Gods Judge-
ments pursuing most justly the breach of publique Faith, will not argue any unlawfulness, injustice, or unchristianity, either in that plea, or this desire of *P. W.* Yet I grant him notwithstanding, that his advice of bearing with patience, simply taken in it self, or (which is the same thing) without mixture of ungranted, unproved, or even untrue supposals, would be commendable, whoever gave it, and the practice of it more, whether such as gave it made other addition, true or false. And therefore I cannot allow his meaning in those words, *what they have drawn upon themselves.*

152. For the Irish Nation, or Catholicks of Ireland generally
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generally taken, or taken only for the greater part, or, if he please, for the Representatives alone, never drew upon themselves, by a publick breach of those Articles of 48. whereof they may be said to have been guilty, that, whatsoever it be this Gentleman intends in the fore-mentioned words. Well they might, by other sins, have provoked Heaven to involve them in the common punishment, and so drawn upon themselves that, which they have suffered hitherto, either from the justice of God immediately, or from the injustice, violence, or tyfanny of men. But that they have, by any sins whatsoever, drawn upon themselves what this Gentleman further, or indeed solely intends here, to wit, an absolute final resolution of his Majesty, by a clear significative Declaration of his will in his Laws, or Acts of Parliament, to make the Irish Nation evermore bowers of wood, and drawers of water, in this Gentleman's interpretation, or in that of the *Man in the dark*, that is, to let them live only, and make them ten million of times more pittifull slaves than the Gibenites were, by taking away from them all their Cities, Cattles, Mannours, Villages, Houses, Lands, even to a foot, and make them the contempt and scorn of all Christian Countries, of Mankind, I must confess I want both Revelation and Reason to believe this Gentleman's bare word for it.

153. Upon his advice to my self I sh. ll not demurr, being I have anticipated it long agoe, and not by my Pen or Press alone, but my Tongue, and Voice, and Mouth, and Lungs also, and by ali the very faculties of my Soul, and not only to acknowledge his Majesties mercy, that no more are punished, (of those, I mean, who are by the Laws punishable) than that some are (whether by his Majesty or not, I dispute not) and that (as by his Majesty) so little too comparatively to their Crimes; but also to celebrate his Majesties Justice, that notwithstanding all those, even disobedient Opposicions, and prevaricating Contradictions of this Gentleman's Party, these two years past; some, (though very few) are in some measure delivered already out of the Lions throat, and Harpies talons. And I hope to have daily more and more cause to magnifie this Justice, and

and that Mercy , and to sing to his Majesty as David did sometime to God , *Misericordiam & Iudicium cantabo tibi Domine.*

154. Yet I cannot but observe here , how much more incomparably this Gentleman is bound to employ *his own Pen , and his own Press* , in inviting his own beloved people , even to super-magnifie , and super-exalt his Majesties unspeakable Mercy to themselves , and not his mercy alone , but his munificence , and his bounteous goodness , and extraordinary favours : being that not only none of them (except those very few of the molt immediate Actors in that horrible Tragedy on the Scaffold at White-Hall) are punished , either so little , comparatively to their superlative Crimes , or at all , positively , without any such comparison : And being they are not only pardoned , not only indemnified in all respects , but even equalled in all capacities (and by actual instances , and those too very manifold , of titles of honour , and places of greatest authority , profit , and trust) with his Majesties molt faichful and approved Subjects .

155. And I cannot but further observe the indiscretion of this Gentleman , that by upbraiding others with a repetition of lesser Crimes (or suppose them equivalent , which they cannot be justly supposed) and a repetition of such even to loathing , leaves himself , or his Cause and Party , (let himself be guiltless) open to the same reproach , or a farr greater . He should have remembred how the godly Malefactor on the Cross did rebuke his fellow , that railed , *Neque tu Deum times , qui in eadem damnatione es ? Dost* Luke 23. *not thou fear God , since thou art in the same condemnation ?* 40. Or at least reflected on that of the King in the Parable to the cruel inexorable Servant , *Serve nequam , omne debitum dimisi tibi quia rogasti me , nunquid ergo oportuit te misereris conservi tui , sicut & ego tui misertus sum ?* Matth. 18. O Mat. 18. thou wicked servant , I pardoned thee ten thousand talents , and 32. pardoned thee so great a debt only of pure compassion , only because thou desiredst me ; Shouldst not those also have compassion for thy fellow servant , and not presently take him by the throat , and throw him in prison for a hundred pence , and be nothing moved with his extreme poverty , and his unfeigned humilia-

tion, or with all his pittifull intreaties, or with all his best purposes, promises, and offers? Our Person of Quality might have reflected hereon, if he pleased, and on the terrible sentence immediately given, on that hard-hearted Servant, and on the Ministers of Justice apprehending him, and binding him hand and foot, and throwing him into utter darkness, even into a place of weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth. And this Person of Quality might have (on consideration of all) determined with himself, that he had done much better to have spared himself, and me both, some ink, and some paper, and some labour too.

156. But I fear he is one of those -we read in Solomon's *Wisdom Wisdom*, *Blinded with their own malice*; or of those in *Esay*, c. 2. v. 21 *Who bear, and will not understand.* But whether also that *Esay*, c. question of the Prophet *Jeremy* in the 13 Chapter of his 6. v. 10. Book may not be, and that very pertinently too, asked *Jeremy*, here in relation to him, *Nanquid potest Aethiops mutare pellam suam, aut Pardus varietates suas?* Can th^e *Aethiopi*, v. 23. an change his Skin, or the Leopard his spots? the Reader may determine. For my part, I cannot otherwise think, than that it may, when I see this Gentleman t^eke a rise from P. W^s.

Pag. 92. Parallel for the inserting of those two particulars, which immediately follow his former advice: and when I yet see the further, and plain explication of them both, and the period of his, otherwise incredible malignity, in that which next comes after, and which he calls, and is indeed, *the conclusion of his whole infamous Book.*

The first is, If any of the Children of P. W^s. *Clymene*
Pag. 92. lose their Lands, though actually they were not guilty of their Fathers Rebellion, let him remember, even in the Case which be instances, that the seven Sons of Saul were hanged up to the Lord in Gibeal of Saul, though they had not actually slain these Gibeonites, for which they themselves were punished. Let him also remember, that till justice was done the famine lasted, and after it was done the famine ceased. Those lost their lives for their Fathers sin; but these (if any) lose but their Fathers forfeited Lands for their Fathers crimes.

157. Supposing, Reader, thou wilt not be abused by this Gentleman if any twice repeated here, either through some uncertainty

uncertainty belike of what he apprehend'ed may be future, or of purpose to conceal the Design (which yet he cannot conceal in his next *Particular*, joyned with his *concluding wish*, specially if you compare thele to his very invidious, and very false, both suppositions and assertions, before given of the whole *Irish* Nations having broken the Peace, and consequently forfeited their Estates : And moreover, if you compare that his *Particular*, and his *conclusive Wish*, to the strict Qualifications of Innocents, could he or his friends enact such as they strugled for) I must beg your patience a little, if I alter the Scene, and place this Gentleman and his Party on the Stage, to answere this first *Particular*, instead of *P. W.* and his *Countrymen* and *Clients*.

158. For put the case that some fourteeen years past, in the very heat of War, when the long Parliament was rampant, and his late most sacred Majesty, of glorious remembrance, was forced to put himself into the power of his Enemies, this Person of Quality, and those he pleads for, had out of remorse of Conscience, and real sense of their duty (though withall out of a desire to provide for their own safety, under Kingly Government, according to the Laws established in the Kingdom) returned willingly and passionately to their Obedience, and this too upon publick Articles of Peace ; but with intent partly, and of design to rescue his Majesty, whom they had never intended to dethrone, or to exclude his Line or Family from the Crowns of *England*, *Ireland*, or *Scotland*, notwithstanding any other evills, which the nature of a War into which they had been hurried, and partly constrained to undertake, might be charged upon them ; yea notwithstanding the murther of some hundreds of innocent people, which the rascal multitude amongst them, had upon the first Insurrection committed, and the plundering withall of many thousands, and the killing also of yet a farre greater number in the prosecution of Wars, and of Souldiers, or men armed, coming against them in hostile manner : And suppose they had withall submitted, or brought in with them, to obey his Majesty, so many strong Cities, Forts, Castles, so many great Shires, and fruitful Provinces, and an Army so numerous of Horse and Foot,

as the Catholick *Irish* did , even a whole Kingdom for the matter ; two Cities alone , and some few Regiments , and other scattered Companies , adherents to them , in Boggs , and Woods , and Mountains , only excepted : And that notwithstanding , through some hidden causes , or secret displeasure of God , or accidents of War , that are very ordinary , or through some unlucky division , arising , or newly kindled , or revived , and heightned , and strengthened too , of purpose , either by a distrustful or malevolent Party amongst them , the common Enemy (and suppose that Enemy had been the *Irish*) did prevail : And suppose moreover , those repentant Converts of our Person of Quality , as to their generality , or greater part , and even as to their Representatives , had sadly beheld many of their own People , and even some of their own Towns , proving disobedient and refractory to commands , and even most grievous affronts done , and (if you please too) some thoughts of treachery entertained by a few Citizens of one , or two , or three of their Towns , and services lost , and the Enemies power escaped through the peevish refractoriness or unreasonable distrusts of some , and the heads of their Clergy besides , endeavouring , by threats of spiritual censures , to withdraw the obedience of all their great and numerous Body from his Majesties Lieutenant over them , but not prevailing herein , as to the generality , or farr greater part , though hindring very much the service against the common Enemy : And put the case too , that all had been finally undone , and the Kingdom lost occasionally through such unlawful oppositions of a few , or the lesser part ; and yet that both sides of them , as well the disobedient as obedient , had to the last man refused any Capitulations with such their common Enemy , to serve him against the King ; but had even very many thousands , even three or four legions of them , withdrawn out of the Country , and ran his Majesties fortune abroad , or waited his commands , and in all Countries roamed after him perpetually , fixing all their hopes upon , and quitting all other services under forein Princes for him , but such only as might stand with his pleasure ; alwayes ready to venture again limb and life to reinthrone his Majesty ;

Majesty, as likewise the remainders of them at home, under the prevalent Usurpers, had been waiting all opportunities for that end, and therefore upon that account partly, if not principally, as persons suspected, made the most miserable slaves in the World, and every new Moon confined to Gaols: And suppose that after many years had been so past over, by this Person of Quality, and his Party, some wandring in exile abroad, others at home groaning in captivity, all waiting with impatience the occasion and hour, God of his mercy were pleased at last to throw an Apple of Discord amongst those in that case now supposed usurping Victours (to wit, *P:W.* and his Party) and raise between them such irreconcileable feuds, as, together with the continual fears, arising partly from those abroad in banishment, and those at home in bondage, though peradventure principally from the more numerous Party of old Cavalliers, and from their Friends dispersed in the three Nations, had forced them (*viz.* the said usurping Victours) to concurr to, though with much reluctancy, or rather to behold (but with heavy hearts, and armes acros) the calling home of his Majesty to the possession of his Fathers Throne, administration of Justice, or dispensation of Mercy, to each one of his people, throughout the *British* Empire, answerable to their several capacities, and to the Laws, and to the equity of them, and above all to his own gracious, benign, and merciful Genius: And suppose yet further, that those usurping people which had partly so called, or so looked upon his Majesty returning home, and which had kept too this Person of Quality, and his Friends, for so many years in exile and slavery, had been those too who had all along concurred, and even acted with such others as bereaved his Majesties dear Father of his life, contrived the Oath of Abjuration, and so many others, took it, and the rest all, and further made, and to their power observed, and forced upon others the observation of all those Oaths and Acts we have seen against the *Line of King James*, and Family of the *Stuarts*, and that the same Usurpers (the supposed Enemies in our present case) had for that concurrence of theirs, and prosecution of it, enjoyed so long the Lands and Estates of

of this very *Person of Quality*, and his Friends, even a great Kingdom : And suppose lastly, that (after all) his Majesty were sitting, as he now is, to administer Justice to all his Subjects indifferently, and to give withall incomparable arguments of his Clemency, and that *P. W.* were pleading there for himself, and his own Party (supposed still in such a case to be of that side, whereof our *Person of Quality*, and his People are now) and were pleading there, not for Pardon or Indempnity alone to himself, and his Friends, but for the acquisition, moreover, and continuation, and that by a new Law too, or by a Law to be made anew for that purpose against all former fundamental Laws, and for the enjoyment for ever, by his Majesties grant, all the Lands, Houses, &c. belonging formerly, or before the Wars to this *Person of Quality*, and other his Friends (who fighting so many years continually for the King, were in that Cause dispossesed of them by him, that is, by *P. W.* and his Partners, and that *P. W.* were pleading too against innocent Children the Rebellion at any time of their Fathers, although early Converts, and always after constant Subjects, and were pleading, I say, for the acquisition, or continuation to himself, and his, of the Rights and Lands belonging othewise to them, even by entail made in consideration of a Marriage-Portion given by their Mothers: I demand, in such a case (not whether this *Person of Quality* pleading on the other side, admitted unquestionably by all indifferent to be the better side, would allow *P. W.* the impudence of such a Plea, but) whether he would find it any difficult matter to shew the unfitness of that Example of the *Seven Sons of Saul hanged up to the Lord in Gibeah of Saul*, to justifie in that supposed case, or to perswade, or even to move his Majesty to the cutting off all Entails, even such as were made before the War begun, and such too, as were made in consideration of a Marriage-Portion paid, or move his Majesty to the bereaving of all right of succession or inheritance in their Fathers Estates, the Children of his (in such a case) long suffering and loyal Party, even those very Children that were not actually guilty of their Fathers Rebellion ? Or would he think it an hard task to prove the unlikeness

ficiency of the next allusion, *That till Justice was done the Famine lasted, and after it was done the Famine ceased?* Or the ineptitude also (to his end) of that following Antithesis, *Those lost their Lives for their Fathers Sin; but these (if any) lose but their Fathers forfeited Lands for their Fathers Crimes?* And whether he would not think, that not only his Majesty, and all the Court, but all indifferent Persons on Earth, would laugh even to scorn the brazen face of P. W. or at least his very extreme lack both of Grace, and of Reason, if in such a case he made use of this Rhetorical Divinity (which our Person of Quality uses against him) to get the Lands of all such Innocents, the Children (in our supposition) of this Person of Quality's repentant early Converts, bestowed on himself, and his Clients, still supposed in the case to have fought all along against his Majesty, and continued obstinate even to the last hour in pursuance of the Good Old Cause, and to have dispossessed those very Children of this Person of Quality, and his Friends, and to have dispossessed their Fathers too, fighting for the Royal Quarrel.

159. But not to perplex the Reader any more with this imaginary case, or the Person of Quality with troublesome apprehensions, how to answer in it, without speaking his own condemnation out of his own mouth, let us on both sides put off our supposititious Persons, and return aga'in to our own, he to his, and I to mine, and both to the case indeed, which has a real being. And let the Reader judge of my following Answers to his evill Application of that Example of *Saul's Children, &c.* For I must tell him,

First, That the hanging up to the Lord of the Children of Saul in Gibeath of Saul, cannot be a Precedent to any mortal Man, King, or inferiour Judge, to warrant the like, or other punishment of Innocents, unless an Oracle of God, or a special Revelation or Inspiration extraordinary from Heaven, did speak the pleasure of God to that purpose; as in the permission given by David to put those Children of Saul to death.

That otherwise, or without such an Oracle, or some heavenly Inspiration that were indubitably such, David had

had most grievously sinned, in putting to death the Children of *Saul*, for that breach of *Saul*; even sinned, I say, against the ordinary known Law of God in *Deuteronomi*. 20. Chapter, 16 Verse, *N. n occidentur Patres pro Filiis, nec Fili i pro Patribus, sed u. uiquisq; pro peccato suo morietur*: *The Father shall not be put to death for the Children, neither the Children shall be put death for the Fathers; every man shall be put to death for his own sin.* Which the Prophet *Ezechiel* some Ages after did again declare to be the will of God. *The Son shall not bear the iniquity of the Father, neither shall the Father bear the iniquity of the Son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon himself, the Soul that sinneth is shall dye.* *Ezechiel*, 18 Chap. 20 Verse. And therefore, that instead of diverting the wrath of God from the People, *David* were more like to incense it more and more, and continue the Famine, and other scourges, had he, without a special dispensation from God, given over to death innocent Children for the sin of their Father.

Riby Sa lowon a of, whether the seven Sons of *Saul*, who were hanged to *pudlyran the Lord in Gibeath of Saul*, had been guiltless, or not attur-
bic. a Reg ally guilty in their own persons of the blood or oppression of
a L v. 6. the *Gibonites*.

That however this be, or whatever may be thought of, that Law in *Deutero-omy*, or of the repetition of it in *Eze-
chiel*, our Person of Quality will not say, his Majesty, or any other earthly King, is bound in Conscience by that precedent of *David*, or that it may be either convenient or expedient for his Majesty to look upon it now as a pattern for himself, either in relation to the Children of such Fathers, as are known to have washed off the guilt of their Insurrec-
tion by a very early Repentance, and a very constant Obedience ever since 48. And who moreover can plead the justice and indemnity of Articles which they have not forfeited; or even to the Children of those others, who have been so unfortunate the second time, as to have broke that Peace of 48. albeit they did never submit to, or concurr with the Regicides. For if our Person of Quality will insist upon any such

such Obligation of Conscience , or even Expediency , as arising thence , and that his Majesty were once perswaded thereof , what should then become of this Gentleman , and his beloved People , in relation to whom there must be in all Contingencies a farr greater tye of Conscience or a farr greater Expediency ariling from that very Example to punish them ? What , I say , of his or their Children , even such as have *not been actually guilty of their Fathers Rebellions* ? Rebellions ten thousand times more hainous , more execrable , than that of the worst principled of the Irish can be justly said to have been .

160. And if our Person of Quality would , in case of any such resolution in his Majesty , enter into a Plea of Justice , grounded now indeed upon that of the Letters from *Breda* , or Acts of Indempnity confirmed by a silent Royal , and would enter this Plea of Justice , not for the innocent Children alone , but their Fathers too , of his Party , who had not since that Oblivion trespassed against the Laws : Why may not *a fortiori* , the Catholicks of *Ireland* , who broke not their Articles , be admitted likewise to a Plea of Justice , yea notwithstanding their former Rebellions ? Their Crimes have been less , and their Repentance earlyer , and their Suffering for the King without any compare by him or his : for those of this Person of Quality's Party never suffered the least affliction , or one sole moment for his Majesty .

161. Or if the dispute had been before the Act of Indemnity , or Letters of *Breda* , or any Promise given , or if this Gentleman's Plea must liave been Mercy alone , as verily it should be in that Case , or before any such Letters , Acts , or Promises , even for the Children of his People , even for such of their Children as were *not actually guilty of their Fathers most truly unparall'd Rebellions* ; Wherefore may not the Irish , that even forfeited (so as above-said) the benefit of their Articles in 48. be admitted to that Plea too , and hope even for that Mercy to themselves , and to their Children also , which this Person of Quality would sue for to his own , in this last Case ?

162. And if to these , or to their side for Mercy , in such a case ,

that example of *Saul's Children hang'd in Gibeah of Saul*, could be no obstruction, no hinderance of his Majesties conscientious, gracious, and mercifull pardon , or gift even to their Children after them , of their Fathers Inheritance before the Wars , and not only of such as were entayl'd ; neither can it be in the present case of the *Irish* , or of such of them as have broke , even the Peace of 48. any more , but rather much les groundedly alleged to debar his Majesties compassion of their Children , or themselves either.

Pag. 92. 163. Secondly , Or to his allusion to the *Famine continued until Justice was done* , &c. I must tell him also , the answer is very obvious ; that for the wrong done the *Gibeonites* , there was no punishment inflicted , no reparation made , no Justice done by the hand of Man , before the *seven Sons of Saul were hanged* : And therefore we may conceive it is very suitable to the Justice of God that Famine should last , until , even some descending from his very loyns , that so cruelly oppressed the *Gibeonites* against publick Faith or Covenant , were punished by the very hands of the self same people . Whereby to teach the world how horrible must be the Sin of Article-breaking : Whereon peradventure , the very chosen *Israelites* themselves had not otherwise much reflected . But for the wrongs done by the *Irish* Catholics at any time , since the first insurrection on the 23 of October 41. not seven persons alone , but seven thousand , nay sevenscore (if not seventy times seven score) thousand have been long since punished by the Justice , and by the hands of men , and punished even most exemplarily , and not the nocent only , but the innocent , without any distinction or compassion , even armless and harmles day-labourers , and women , and children , even babes , and Chrysome-sucklings , hanging at their Mothers breasts ; yea very many punished in a legal way , tryed in open Courts , condemned , executed , hang'd , shot , beheaded , and quartered . So that to pretend in this case of *Ireland* any defect of exemplary punishment , or sufficient publick Justice , even by the hand of Man , and from such defect a *Famine* , or other visible Judgement upon the Kingdom now , or since the Restoration of his Majesty , were to allege a cause that is not ,

not, and an effect which we perceive not; being we cannot but see and acknowledge ever since that happy return of his Majestie, a return likewise of all plenty, and other both earthly, and heavenly blessings throughout his Majesties Dominions. Which had this Person of Quality better considered, it is like he would not have mentioned here, in this allusion, *the lasting of the Famine till Justice was done, and the ceasing of it, after that was done.* For if his allusion hold, the cessation of all those foregoing publique Judgements, and the succession of the greatest mercies throughout the English Empire, must be rather an argument that so much Justice is done already, as the just anger of God required, than that any more should be.

164. Thirdly, Or to shew the ineptitude likewise (to his end) of his Antithesis; *Those lost their lives for their Fathers Sin; but these (if any) lose but their Fathers forfeited Estates.* P.W. entreats the Reader to weigh this following Ratiocination, which our Person of Quality will find himself obliged to build upon it.

165. By Miracle, and by Oracle, or by a special Revelation or Inspiration from Heaven, and by wonderful Judgements on the twelve Tribes of *Israel* universally, for three whole years, *David* the Prophet, and Familiar of God, was instructed, that it was the good will of God, notwithstanding the Law of *Moses* to the contrary, he should resign to the *Gibeonites* the 7 Sons of *Saul*, though innocent of their Fathers Crimes, to lose their lives. Therefore his Majesty, without any kind of Miracle, Oracle, Revelation, Inspiration, or any visible Judgement inducing him, may for the sin of others, long since repented, or at least pardoned by Articles, resign over, and for ever also, to such men as this Person of Quality, and his Associates are, the Rights, Estates, and Inheritances of above seventy thousand innocent Children, and Children unquestionably innocent, and Children to Fathers too, that fighting as became loyal Subjects, did through Gods permission thereby make themselves, and these their Children so miserable as they are known to be at present, and to have been those ten years past; And his Majesty not only may, but ought to do so. And not only may,

or ought not to regard the condition of Innocency , or the justice of publick Articles of Peace , or the Laws of God or Nations in this Case , but even to forget his never to be forgotten Clemency to a million of other Children , and Children to Parents guilty of more atrocious *Rebellions* , than the most frequently , or most obstinately guilty of these Irish Childrens Fathers.

166. Behold , Reader , the Argument contained in that rare Antithesis . And if this be not Logick out of Schools , and Divinity out of Hell , I confess I know not what it may be . But this Person of Quality will perhaps defend both with his *English Interest* , and his Protestant Religion , though I am persuaded he could sometimes have shaken hands for his own Interest , and his own Religion , with the most disloyal *Genevians* in *Scotland* , and thrive there too , amongst them .

Pag. 92. *The second Particular is, Though even the Spirit of God is self witnesseth, that Saul sought to slay the Gibeonites in his Zeal to the Children of Israel and Juda, yet that it self could not silence, or suspend the Justice of God.* And therefore let P. W. know , that though in the third Article of their Instructions to the titular Bishop of Fernes , and Sir Nicholas Plunkett (their Commissioners to Rome) they own to the Pope , that in their Zeal they raised Armes for the freedom of the Catholick Religion , yet no Zeal in Religion can apologize for , or will hinder the effects of Gods Justice on his Countrymen , for their unparallel'd Murders , and their often breaches against Nature , and against Stipulation . To do evil that good may come of it , may be the Doctrine of Rome , but is not the Doctrine of Christ ; and by the fruit the tree is best known .

167. I am inclined to believe there is nothing of Zeal , as this Gentleman gives it , in that passage , or any other of these *Instructions* , nor that I think it had been improper to such as had been reduced to the straits the Confederates were in then , although some of themselves brought themselves , and all the rest to such , even by a very unlawful rejection of the first Peace in 46. But that I know my self , those of the supreme Council was then , to have been of this perswasion , that no Zeal of Religion could warrant before God

God or Man the justice of raising Armes against the Prince, Magistrate, or Laws : And that I know the Commissioners sent by the Confederates to Oxford and Dublin, pleaded alwayes the necessity was put upon them by the Lords Justices, even for the safety of their lives, to take Armes. Besides this Gentleman, who is curious enough in distinguishing material words (related unto) by a different Character from the Roman, that is by Italick Letters, omitted to give so here that word *Zeal*, albeit the only word was material above all the rest there, which yet he delivers in *Italique*, as part of that third Instruction. And this partly too makes me suspect it, as a pretty additional invention, of purpose to parallel the *Zeal of Saul* in killing the *Gibeonites*, which I said in my Letter could no: divert the wrath of God incensed against *Saul*.

168. But whether it be so or no, or whether this Gentleman relates those Instructions truly or not, it matters not, being the contest is not indeed material, and that he disputes against me, whose constant belief is (even as part of Catholick Doctrine, clearly delivered in the Scriptures, and in the Fathers, and would this Gentleman's, and his Party's perswasion were so too) that *no Zeal in Religion can apologize for any kind of Rebellion*, much less for *unparallel'd Murthers*, or *often breaches against Nature*, or *against stipulation* committed therein, or indeed for any murther at all, or any one even single breach of a just promise.

169. Yet I must dissent from this Gentleman in two things he says here : And must affirm again, because he provokes me again, That even those very horrid murthers, (and be they as numerous too, as he will have them) committed by a very few of the rude rabble amongst the *Irish*, are not only not *unparallel'd* in Histories of former ages, and Pag. 93. other Countries, and by very many instances, but not even in the History of our own days, or that of *England*, since the prodigious murther committed on the Scaffold at *Whitehall* by those that shaked hands all along with this Gentleman's Clyents. And that all those *Irish* murthers, even quintessenced into one, have been unquestionably not so little hainous comparatively as parallel'd, but even as over-parallel'd

parallel'd by that only one ; yea had the Actors in it committed no more , as yet they are known to have ten thousand before and after . And I must affirm , that although it be confessedly true , that *no zeal in Religion* can apologize for the sins either Personal or National of my Countrymen , as neither (if not rather much less) for those yet more hideous , and more abominable crimes of some of this Person of Quality's Brethren ; yet both he , and I too , (if Christians , if rational men) cannot but affirm also , That a Godly repentance , with all due circumstances of it , according to the Religion and Faith of God , taught us in the Word of God , may for the time to come , *binder the effects of Gods Justice on my Countrymen* , even those very effects which this Per-

Pag. 93. *son of Quality* wisheth from his very Soul (I am sure) that no godliness may hinder , and which he no less positively denounces than if he had the mercy of God in his power , and the knowledge of Gods decrees , or of all future contingencies reveal'd to him . But he is neither a Prophet , nor the Son of a Prophet , if I may guess . And what ever he be , 'tis like he hath neither the Mercy nor the Justice and power of God at his devotion more , nor the knowledge of Gods eternal or temporary pleasure (concerning my Countrymen) more certainly revealed to him , than the Prophet *Jonas* had all of them together , in relation to the *Ninivites* . And therefore notwithstanding this Gentleman's prediction here , of , or against the *Irish* , be so positive , so absolute an assertion of the effects of Gods Justice to fall upon them hereafter , viz . (in his conception , and according to his affection) *the loss of all their Lands for ever , and the transplanting of them all from one end of the borders of Egypt , to the other end thereof* , as presently you shall see in his Conclusion ; yet he must grant me that this prediction of his can be no more infallible than that of *Jonas* , *Aduac quadragimatis & Ninive subvertetur , yet forty dayes and Ninive shall be overthrown* .

Jon. 3
Ch. V. 4. *subvertetur , yet forty dayes and Ninive shall be overthrown*. And we know this prediction of *Jonas* the very Prophet of God , yea preached by the very command of God himself , was notwithstanding falsified , and *Ninive* saved then from any such , or other Judgement threaten'd by the Prophet , because the *Ninivites* humbled themselves truly before God , and

V. 7, 8, any such , or other Judgement threaten'd by the Prophet ,
9, 10. because the *Ninivites* humbled themselves truly before God , and

and with faith and hope cryed unto him for mercy. And I believe my Countrymen may imitate them , and hope they will.

As for his occasional assertion , *That to do evill that good may come of it , may be the Doctrine of Rome , no Romanist* pag. 95
 I am certain will ever allow. Nor can he charge any of all their Communion with that wicked Maxim in any kind of sense , that may not be returned on himself again with very much disadvantage to his party. For if he say (for example) that some Papist writers teach , that Subjects may rebel against the Sovereign power , to the end that Religion may be restored or preserved ; and therefore teach to doe evil , that good may come of it , Rebellion questionless being a very great evil in it self , and true Religion as great a good : I would fain know , whether his own Religious Clients have not in a thousand Pamphlets , and ten thousand Pulpits , and for 20. years compleat , maintained that un-catholick , wicked , sinful Position , against the Laws of God , Natural and Positive , and against the Laws of Man , Civil and Ecclesiastical ? And whether they have not all that while taught , all of them , and practiced too , a most impious Rebellion , partly to introduce the very worst Religion in the World , and partly , to have none at all ? Nay , whether they have not taught , and practiced also , that infernal Doctrine of meer design , first to ruine Monarchy , and then Prelacy , and after these Magistracy and Ministry both in general , could they drive on their design ; and so devour the Tythes , and then pull down the Steeple-houses (for so the Saints did name all Churches) and , in a word , let Hell wide open upon the face of the Earth , and make themselves the sole Masters of it , yea absolute Lords of all the good things in it : of all other mens fortunes , and lives too , and at their own pleasure wash their hands in the blood of the wicked ; as they term all honest men , because not of their cabal ? And if this Doctrine , and this Practice be not incomparably worse than that which (though wickedly) teache[n] by word or example , *to do evill that good may come of it* ; nay if it lead not by the hand *to do many great evils* ; that many other , yet farr greater , yea all imaginable evils in the world

may follow , I understand nothing at all by this word *evil*. But if such Diabolical Maxims and Practices flow naturally from the Doctrine of Geneva , *Rome* needs not blush hereafter , not even for the most unchristian Maxims charg'd hitherto (though falsely) upon her . And since *by the fruit the tree is best known* , what will our Person of Quality think of his own tree , that bears abundance continually of so evill , so deadly poysinous fruit ? Or will not he think of it , as our Saviour did , foretelling in general what would become of all such ? *Omnis arbor , que non facit fructum bonum , excidetur , & in ignem mittetur.* Math. 7. Nay , will not he think , that if by our Saviours prediction or judgement , *Every tree that bears not good fruit , shall be cut down , and thrown into the fire* , thole that bear so evill , even the most evill fruit conceivable , are by the justice of God reserved for such a fire as ever shall burn , and never consume throughly , but alwayes reserve them for new punishment , unless they timely change their Nature , and receive Sents of Grace insculpted on the old wicked Stock .

171. Albeit I have no cause to quarrel at the first part of this Gentleman's Conclusion of his Book , or of his concluding Wish , *That his Grace the Duke of Ormond may be as another Joseph to his Brethren* , being it is , and was my own Wish , in the perclose of that Letter , so diligently commented upon by this Person of Quality , and so just , and so good a Wish too , as (by his confession) drew the hearts of the Protestants of Ireland to close with him , desiring that his Grace may be Pag. 93. a Joseph , not only to the Israel of God (the Religious Protestants) but also a Joseph even to the Egyptians themselves , feeding and preserving them , yet so as becomes Pharaoh's Steward : And although I dispute not , at this time , the initiation or extension of this Author's meaning under these notions ; *the Protestants of Ireland , the Israel of God , the Religious Protestants , nor his allusions moreover , to the Egyptians themselves , and Pharaoh's Steward* ; on all which I could say enough to his confusion : and notwithstanding himself makes it appear sufficiently , that his feeding and preserving them , was not so much an effect of his Charity , as a further argument of his Hypocrisie ; yet for the second part of his own additional

additional *Wish* (which I am sure he had not from my *Letter*, or from elsewhere, but from the abundance of his own heart, and from theirs who are such as himself). I know not what to admire most therein; his extreme hatred and malice, or his extreme impudence and rashness: that, in harbouring in his own breast, or thoughts, a desire so merciless, cruel, so unjust, and tyrannical, even beyond almost all imagination: this, in giving it as a good *wish* to the *Duke of Ormond*, and publishing it in print to all others, and in these very words, *Ye: so as becomes Pharaoh's Steward, reserving the Lands of all, but the Priests, to the King's free dispose, and removing, that is transplanting the people from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other end thereof.* No regard of any Innocents, no remembrance of any Articles, no more thoughts of the services and sufferances of any, no Justice to, no Pitty for, the *Irib Nation*; but the Laws of Nations, even in that of Publick Faith, and the Laws of God too, in so many particulars, and the Laws of the Land also, even the very Fundamental Laws of *England*, and *Ireland* both, must be controuled by a new Law against all those former, of purpose to make Slaves of the King's Friends to the King's Enemies, even *hewers of Wood, and drawers of Water*, even in the very worst sense of such *hewers*, or such *drawers*, and to bestow for ever the Estates of those upon these, and even to transplant their very persons, Men, Women, and Children, from one end of the borders of *Ireland* to another, and even to transplant them to a very narrow nook there, and that too for most of the transplanted so (if it should so happen) set out in Boggs and Rocks, and uncouth-horrid Wildernesses: and the *Duke of Ormond* must be the great instrument hereof, and the King himself the primary efficient, by this Person of Quality's good *wish* to the Duke, and just desire from him. And the *Lands of the Priests*, and the King's free dispose must cloak all this: As if our Person of Quality, and his Consorts, had not long since deprived of Lands and Houses, both the Priests of the *Egyptians*, and the Priests of the *Israel* of God; or that he would now exempt either, had he had the least hope to prevail, or the least pretence to quarrel against these. And as if that must be termed the King's free dispose, which

which the dayly Machinations, and bloody Contrivings, and threatening Demeanour of so many of this Person of Quality's most godly Brethren necessitates his Majesty at present seemingly to own, or connive at. Or that any freedom whatsoever in disposing the lands of Innocent Subjects to him and his against the Laws, or the Lands of the Article-makers that never transgressed, after such Articles made, could excuse from a breach of the Laws, and a breach of Covenant, or Publick Faith, such disposal. And I am sure, this Person of Quality will insist no longer on the Kings free dispose, than it shall relate to himself, and his party, or than the Estates of the Irish be disposed to his advantage.

172. But if notwithstanding all this he will struggle yet in justification of his good wish or desire, I would fain know of him, what would himself or his party think of P. W. or even of the Protestant Cavaliers that from the first of the War to the last, continued unchangeably faithfull to his late and present Majesty, if I say P. W. or these Loyal Gentlemen of all the three Nations, or of any of them, would, even, in the present conjuncture, and reflecting on so many horrid Plots, dayly set on foot, wish, desire, and labour with the Duke of Ormond, and present Parliament of Eng'and, and with his Majesty, that a new Law should be made, and a new Act revoking the late Act of Indempnity; or a new and far other Declaration set forth by his Majesty, and by the Parliament after, and with his Majesties Royal consent made a Law, whereby all the Lands belonging at any time, even by a just title, or before the Wars, to this Person of Quality's good friends, whether Anabaptists, Quakers, Fifth Monarchy men, Independents, or even Presbyterians, or any other sect, of what Judgement soever, throughout the three Kingdoms, should be reserved to the Kings free dispose, that is, for every disposed by his Majesties Royal grant to these Cavaliers, and a fit proportion too, to P. W. and such of his Clyents as lost themselves, and adher'd unalterably, at least since 48 to his Majesties interests, and whicreby, moreover, all the above named, our Person of Quality's good friends, should be removed, that is transplanted from one end of the borders of Egypt,

Egypt, to the other end thereof, all those in Scotland, to some narrow iteril corner in the Highlands, or to the Hebrides, or Isles of Orkney; and all their cooforts in England, to the most barren and mountainous part of Wales, and all his belov-ed in Ireland to Larchonaught and Barrin? I would fain (I fay) know what in such case our Person of Quality, and his friends would think of P.W. and his Cavaliers, wishing, desiring, and labouring so? Nay what if the case had thus only stood with the Person of Quality, and all those his friends, that they might have alleged to themselves Articles of Peace and Publick Faith given them in such Articles, made (suppose it so) with his Majestie before his return from Breda? And what if the case had thus moreover stood with them, and P.W. and his Clients, and even with all those Cavaliers, that our Person of Quality, and his people, might have alleged aganst all for themselves, so many years constant fighting, Watring, suffering for, and adhering to the Kings Interest, in bondage, and in banishment, and that P.W's Irish friends, and the English Cavaliers had been the very persons, who had for so many years too, and ever since 41 unalterably, even to the year 59 or 60. (when they could no longer) fought against the King and them, and brought all the miseries of those times on all? would not he and his in such cases, and specially in the later, except against the unreasonable, groundless, unmercifull rigour, and against the inhumanity, injustice, and against the impudencē also of P.W. and his Clients, and of the Cavaliers too? Would not he and his admire to see men, and, in the later case, men too so criminal, so guilty themselves, and yet forgiven all their Crimes through the merciful indulgence of a good King, devest themselves notwithstanding, of all mercy, and all modesty, and all shame (and not of justice only) of purpose to make that very King, and for their own sakes who were (in the supposed case) always his enemies, destroy a million of his friends, and without any new cause given, ruine them for ever, without regard of either Mercy, or Justice, even to Articlers, or Innocents, or Widows, or Orphans, who had their Estates entayled upon them before the Wars, and ne-ver acted in the Wars any thing against the Laws? And yet,

I dare say, that such a wish or endeavour of the *Cavaliers*, or even of *P. W.* and his *Clients* alone, would be in the former case, or in that which really is of both sides now, comparatively far more suiting with reason, and more excusable by necessity, than that of our *Person of Quality* here. Though I withall confess my self to be of this Judgement (as I have always been, and as my Letter all along, and after that my Irish Co-
lours folded, but most especially and plainly, in the conclusion demonstrates I have,) that abstracting from the comparison, all such desires or wishes, and much more other answerable endeavours, either of this *Person of Quality*, or of *P. W.* should he entertain the thoughts of any such, must be very uncharitable, and very unreasonable, and very unjust, and very unchristian, yea and inhumane too I say, and becoming rather some *Turk*, or some *Tartar*, or a *Lefrigon* and *Canibal*, than a man bred up amongst men, who know any thing of Religion, and retain any part of the common resentments of Nature.

173. And for the practice of Joseph (which herein, that is, in reserving the Lands of all to the King's free dispose, and transplanting the People, this Gentleman further wishes may be his Grace's the Duke of Ormonds pattern) it is as farr as from East to West from giving any, even probable argument, that may justify that our *Person of Quality*'s most cruel, barbarous, and savage desire: however he give this in the name of the *Protestants of Ireland*, but I believe without the concurrence of those who are truly such. Joseph reserved the Lands of all the *Egyptians*, the *Priests* only excepted, to the free dispose of *Pharaoh*, because all the very *Egyptians* themselves, every man freely of himself, without any force, coaction, or necessity put upon them by *Pharaoh*, or by *Joseph*, or by any mortal Creature, sold all their Lands to *Joseph* for meat in the seven years of the general Famine, and *Joseph* bought all for the use of *Pharaoh*. And *Joseph* removed the people from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other end thereof, because the people themselves had upon the same occasion freely (as above) sold themselves, even their own Bodies, I say, for Bread, and *Joseph* had bought them all to *Pharaoh*'s use for ever.

But

*Gen. 47.
36.*

But Joseph notwithstanding so just a title, dealed so equitably with them all, that albeit he saved their lives for seven years together, and preserved their stocks, and gave them seed to towre their lands, and bought (as I have said) all both lands and stocks, and bodies too; yet when he removed them, or those he thought fit, he removed them not into one little corner of *Egypt*, nor into mountains, rocks, and boggs, nor into uncouth Wildernes, but into a large and fruitfull soyl, abounding with all good things, as their own was, even into all the rich lands of *Egypt*, and into the mighty, opulent, and pleasant Cities in all those borders and quarters, and midland too of *Egypt*, and removed them also without encroaching on any others right, without prejudicing any others title, without forcing any of the antient Inhabitants out of their own dwellings or lands, without any kind of injury done to any, or any reluctance or unwillingness being in any, either these that took the new possessions, or those that quitted their old habitations to give the new comers place; because all, as well these as those by their free act, without any kind of constraint, bound themselves to acquiesce, and accordingly did so, and even acknowledged publickly and thankfully that they did so. And yet he dealed with them so equitably, that notwithstanding he transplanted them, all the Land of *Egypt* was still planted by those very transplanted persons, no share in the lands of *Egypt* given to strangers, none such brought or admitted in to supplant those *Egyptians*, not even the very true *Israelites* of God themselves acquiring, or possessing anew, but what they had before the Famine, and before any such bargain, and without the prejudice of any *Egyptian*, a little parcel in the land of *Ramesses* to graze the Cattle belonging to a small family of 70 Souls. And further yet he dealed so equitably with them, in reserving to Pharaoh's free disposal the rights they had formerly, and which now themselves had, in as much as in them lay, for ever bereaved themselves of, by their own free consent, and deed, that nevertheless by a new Law, which he made after all this, to hold forever in that Kingdom, those very *Egyptians* were entitled anew to four entire parts, and Pharaoh only to a fifth of the encrease.

Gen. 47. of those very lands, which otherwise did for all parts wholly
 26. belong to him, as likewise did the very Oxen that ploughed
 the lands, and the very seed, and the very persons that did
 sowe them.

174. And this being the *practice of Joseph*, and that
 which I related, his title, how can our *Person of Quality*
 expect any advantage from either to his purpose? Certainly
 no sale of Lands, much less of Bodies to the Duke of *Or-
 mond*, or to his Majesty, or to any else for his Majesties use,
 or even for any other Persons use, as made by the Catho-
 licks of *Ireland* themselves, not only, not so freely, or
 without any kind of violence, force, compulsion, or neces-
 sity put upon them by any mortal man, but not even con-
 strainedly made by them, can be alleged by this *Person of
 Quality*, nor donation, nor exchange, nor promise of ei-
 ther, nor any other title whatsoever, if not his false pre-
 tence of a general breach of the Articles of 48. Which because
 I have abundantly shewed to be such, that is, *de non ente*, or
 a pretence of that which never had a being yet, and have
 shewed this too, by clearing most evidently all his Ar-
 guments to the contrary, and even by shewing them to be
 ridiculous, absurd, and very meer non sense: how can the
practice of Joseph be a Pattern to the Duke of Ormond for
 confiscating all the estates of the *Irish*, and for the trans-
 planting of all their persons, even I say, in case the con-
 fiscation and transplantation of them, intended by this Gentleman
 were as mild, and as tollerable, as that of the *Egyptians* by *Joseph*? And since it is not by very many, and
 the e too most highly considerable degrees, how can yet
the practice of Joseph be a pattern to the Duke therein, even
 I say in case he had for such *reservation*, and such *transplan-
 tation* of the Lands and Persons of the *Irish*, the very same, or
 like right, or some other equivalent to that which *Joseph*
 had to *reserve* the lands, and *remove* the People of *Egypt*?
The reservation enacted by Joseph to the use of Pharaoh was
 of the fifth part only throughout all *Egypt*, leaving four an-
 swerable entire proportions for the *Egyptians* themselves:
 but the *reservation*, or *confiscation* this Gentleman drives at
in Ireland, is of all the five parts, even of the whole; not so
 much

much as leaving one sole foot of Land unto the Catholick Irish. And the *Transplantation* made by Joseph was into a Land as rich, and as large as the fields and whole extent of Egypt, and even unto the pleasant and beautiful Cities of that Country: But the *Transplantation* this Gentleman intends of the Irish, must be from all the best Land of Ireland, into the very worst of it, and must be from nineteen parts of the Land of Ireland, whereof they were the lawful Proprietors, and lately the Possessors, into farr less than the twentieth part of the whole, divided into twenty equal proportions; and must be into barren, desert, horrid places too, and must be without Cattel to stock that very Land, without Seed to sow, or Plough to manure it, without Servants, without Shelter, without House or Cabbin to lodge these Transplanted People in, or defend them from the Wolves, or from the Robbers, or Heat, or Cold, or other Injuries of the open Air. And the miserable Irish Transplanted so, must not even in those small Tracts allotted for them, within the narrow precincts of some p[er]ts of three or four Counties in Connacht and Tuamond, pitch in any place, or fix their dwelling Houses, or take any Lands within two miles of the River Shannon, four of the Sea, and four of Galway, the only City within their precinct: They must not enter this Town, or any other Corporate or Garrison'd Place, without particular Orders, at their peril, even of being taken by the throat, and thrown presently into Gaol; but if to look back on the Country of their Nativity, they dare set foot on the Bridge of Athlone without Pass, woe be unto them, either a bullet or a cord must end their dayes. And none of them all must as much as bear the Office of a petty Constable, even amongst themselves, even within those very narrow precincts assign'd for them to sojourn in. For the dwelling intended them, even there, can be no other than that of Sojourners, or at least of Tenants at Will, since all the Lands of Ireland, except those of the Priests, are desired by this Gentleman to be reserved by Law to the Kings free dispose, vix. to be disposed again by the King to him, and to his People. So that if he prevail, the whole Irish Nation must be perpetual Bondslaves in their own

Country , or like the accursed *Jews* , wandering and roaming abroad for ever amongst Foreigners .

175. Behold Reader , the *Transplantation* of the People of *Ireland* , and the *Reservation* of their Lands , which our Person of Quality drives at , even the very same *Transplantation* ; and the very same *Reservation* invented first (but not for the Kings use) and put in execution after by *Usurpers* , and by *Tyrants* , by the *Rump Parliament* , and by the *Protector Cromwel* , and by *Ludlow* , and *Corbet* , and *Jones* , and *Fleetwood* their Commissioners in *Ireland* in the days of dread and darkness . And whether such *reserving* of the *Irish* lands , and such *Transplanting* of the *Irish* People to be made into a Law for ever by the Duke of *Ormonds* furtherance , or by him to be renewed , or by him to be as much as either *confirmed* or *permitted* , have the practice of *Joseph* for a pattern , do you judge , even I mean in case the Duke had undeniably the very title of sale , or emption , or the right acquired by forfeiture , or any other answerable to that which *Joseph* had .

176. But forasmuch as our Person of Quality's malice to the *Irish* , and *Catholicks* in general , is known to be such , that he will make use of any thing , how weak and insignificant soever , to give some colour of Justice , or some right , or some title at least to enact or continue this *Transplantation* so unmercifully , and because I doubt not he will endeavour to abuse those that will believe him , with a pretext of some exchange , or some bargain made by the *Irish* themselves , when they were thrown out of their own habitations , and put to *Conagh* , and the proprietors of , or dwellers in such lands in *Conagh* as were assigned to the rest of the *Irish* , were likewise constrained to flit ; You (good Reader) may be pleased to observe ,

1. That of twenty or thirty , nay I may say , thirty and twice thirty thousand *Irish* Proprietors , not one thousand of all , or near a thousand received the least kind of compensation , not so much as one foot of land , either in *Conagh* or *Clare* , or elsewhere from the *Tyrants* , or from any else since their time .

2. That the twentieth part , nay the fortieth of those that

that sued for Decrees, Intents, or Charitable subsistence, or whatever else you call it (according to the language and rule in the then Courts of Athlone, & Lograth, held for such purposes, and according to the variety of Qualifications prescribed by the cruel mercy of those *Parliamentary Cromwellians*, who then ruled all) nay not the fortieh part of such as prevailed in their suite, and were looked upon with some kind of pity, had yet any valuable consideration of lands assigned them, not only not for Inheritance, but not even for tenancy at will, for which any rational man in the world might presume they had made an exchange of their own proper estates, whereunto no body else but Rebels then and Usurpers did then any way pretend, and whereof themselves, I mean the Irish then, or a little before, were lawfully possess'd, and their posterity after them should have the lawfull inheritance.

3. That we know some of those had not above ten pound Lands per annum assigned them in Conaught, whose proper Estates at home in their own Countries, whence they had been so removed, were worth a thousand a year.

4. That in case a bargain could be alleged here, as it can not; and although it be true that a bargain is a bargain; yet it is likewise true, that a forced bargain is still a forced bargain, and not, *simply or properly speaking*, any bargain at all, when it is betwixt Subjects, or twixt a Loyal Subject and a Rebel, or with an usurping Tyrannical Traytor, that by plain force and starving, and threats of exile and death, put in execution on some to terrifie others, and signified to all by open Proclamation, and really so intended for all, extorts from his fellow Subjects such a bargain. And that he must be a very bad Christian, and a very bad Subject, and of very little honesty or reason, that would perswade the lawfull Prince to confirm such bargains, when he can otherwise choose, and when such bargains (were there any such) relate unto a case as ours at present is, where so many thousands, where a whole Nation of his good Subjects must be lost for ever by a general *Transplantation* of them all, enacted by law, or continued otherwise, and upon such grounds, and even to gratifie such people, as both invented and executed it.

5. That as well others that received such inconsiderable assignments of land in Connacht, and others too that got nothing at all, and yet were transplanted thither, allege all for themselves, that manifest violence, force, necessity put upon them, as well by turning them out of their own houses and lands, and fleecing them of all their goods, monies, and stocks, and so reducing them to a starving condition, by hunger, and cold, as by the *Proclamation* (which I have before given, treating of this very same subject, in another part of this book) for transplanting, and (which is more) for suing out *Decrees in the Courts of Athlone*, and both at their highest peril, and by the rigorous execution of that *Proclamation*, (the long imprisonment of some, and the exile of others, and the death of *Hedrington* in the Market-place at *Dublin*, for not obeying it, as the Paper on his breast, when he was executed, expressing the Cause of his death, did manifest) and by the general rule so well known, they had to force the obedience of all the *Irish* to that *Proclamation*, *Turning them to the Barbados, or putting them to death*, expressed in plain English at *Kilkenny*, by Colonel *Axtel* in the case of *Mrs. Martha Harpoll*.

6. That how-ever this be, all the transplanted *Irish* to a man, at least, the generality of them, (and hereof I am very certain) deny any kind of exchange or bargain made by them for such lands, in lieu of their own proper Estates, or any release given, or evidences delivered, or disclaim made, or writings drawn, or promise engaged to quit from thenceforth, or at any time after, their own former titles to those Estates, whence they had been so forcibly removed. And likewise deny, that they could, if they would, prejudice or bind those of their children, who had, by ancient, or late agreements, before the Wars, those very Estates entayled upon them.

7. Finally, that if there be any law in *England* or *Ireland* that in the letter may seem to confirm bargains of such a nature, as binding, were there, I say, any bargains at all of what nature soever, relating to the generality of the transplanted *Irish*, or to the right of transplanting them; or if there be any law, which in the Letter seems to intitle his Majesty

jesty to a right of continuing, or enacting a Transplantation, so illegally invented first, and so tyrannically executed after, *P. W.* thinks all good men, and good Lawyers in the world, will be notwithstanding of opinion, that the sense and equity of such municipal laws, (if there be any such) must be otherwise, and the laws of God far otherwise, and the laws of Nations too.

177. Yet, if our Person of Quality can prove, that any one, or more, of all these poor transplanted *Irish*, have, without any such constraint, force, necessity put upon, or violence used towards him or them, or without any rational fear of running the hazard of the penalties threatened by the said *Proclamation*, and by the rules for observing it, gone into *Connaght*, or sued for Decrees, accepted other Lands, or otherwise given up his own former Estate, and quitted all his rights to it for ever; and if our Person of Quality would be so modest, as to desire the *Transplantation* of such only to be continued, or enacted by law, provided such be not transplanted into any other Loyal Subjects Lands, or into the Estates of those *Connaght Irish*, who have themselves the just plea of Articles, or Innocence, as well as others: and if our Person of Quality would be yet further so modest in that other of *Reservation* as to desire only the reserving of such Lands, of the *Irish* to the King's free dispose, as before indifferent Judges shall be proved in open Court, upon a legal trial, to have traytorously or perfidiously broke the Articles of 48. by any rebellious or contumacious disobedience to his Majesties Lieutenant the Duke of *Ormond*, or to the Lord Marques of *Clanrickard*, for a time after Deputy, *P. W.* promises, in case of such modesty, or such moderation at any time hereafter to be used by our Person of Quality, to joyn with him, not in *wish onely* or *desire*, but in prayer also to God, that herein the *practise of Joseph* may be his Grace's (the Duke of *Ormond's*) pattern, reserving the fifth part only to his Majesties free dispose of Lands forfeitable, and removing the persons transplantable, if any be such, into as good Land as their own was, and removing them even to the good Cities in all the borders of *Ireland*; yet with a proviso (if he please) that the true *English* interest, and even the

true English Religion be evermore secured. And whether our Person of Quality do so reform or no, his own desires, or his own wishes, or intentions, as to that of the practise of Joseph to be the Duke's pattern herein; yet P.W. shall ever, and from the very bottom of his soul devoutly pray the blessings

Gen. 49. of Joseph may be the Duke's portion, even by the God of his Father who shall help him, and the Almighty who shall bless V. 25, him with blessings of Heaven above, and blessings of the deep and 26. that lyeth under, and the blessings of the breasts, and of the womb. That all these blessings be on the head of this Joseph, and on the Crown of the head of him that was separate from (those Gen. 45. which call themselves) his brethren, and who was made such, V. 7, or separated by God himself, to preserve them a posterity on and 8. earth, and to save their lives by a great deliverance.

And so, Reader, concluding here my animadversions upon this Person of Qualitie's Comments, it remains that I leave both to thy Judgment, whatever party thou art of; and that withall you determine freely of the truth or fallacy of his grand charge against my letter, in the first page of his book, where he says, that in effect he hath found it (whatever the words of it are) extremely undutiful to his Sacred Majesty, very disrespectful to the Duke of Ormond Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and most scandalous, not only to the Protestants of Ireland, but also to those of the same Religion in his Sacred Majesties other Kingdomes. And further, that with the same freedome you determine whether I cannot groundedly answer his following and first *Dilemma* there, and boldly say, that I writ

Pag. 2. that Letter out of very much respect to his Grace, and out of no less respect did print it; and that you determine likewise whether my light in the Triangle, acknowledged in that very Letter to be such that it cannot be extinguished, give any ground to this Gentleman's fond conception of P.W.'s despairing to receive from his Grace the effects of his (not unjust, as this Person of Quality speaks, but) very just desires for his Countrymen? Or of P.W.'s choosing this way to acquaint them, 'twas not for want of his sollicitation, and to let them see, since he could not make them beholding to my Lord Lieutenant, that they were so to him? But I freely pardon the Gentleman's erroneous conjecture all along of my despair, or of

my design, being the *Holy Week*, and the *Ceremony of Te-
nebris*, and the *Triangle*, and the only *Light remaining unex-
tinguished*, which yet he might have seen in that *Letter*,
seem to be *Mysteries*, where with he is not so well acquaint-
ed, as to understand thereby a hope remaining still in *P.W.*
and surmounting at last all the despair of others.

Et nunc tempus Equum spumania solvere colla.

Virgil.

Y I C C U M T A
And I will say no more, but that we have heard from a
Person of Quality Reproaches, which by the number of
them seek to make up their want of truth: And have seen
Wit made the Slave of Malice, and the foulest obloquies
put into a formal dress; and have beheld the degrees of
Crimes inverted, and while the more hainous pass with im-
punity, the lesser offences condemned to the chaffement
due to those of the first rank. And have likewise heard good
intentions alleged to justifie murthers, rapines, desolation,
and standing in Arms against the King. And have finally
observed that self-interest, and complying with a prevailing
party, hath managed a very elaborate discourse to the
worst end a man by writing could propose to himself, which
is to deceive his Reader: and that nothing would be wanting
to compleat the Iniquity of the Design, but to find out
that this Unknown Author was a Person who had the experi-
ence of more guilt in himself than he imposed upon others.

A N



A N

APPENDIX.

LONG after this Reply had been finished, I heard some other Persons of great Quality, and Persons too whom I very much esteem, defend by way of Argument, that the King is not bound at all to perform the Articles of 48. not even to any part, or as much as to one individual Person of the former Confederates of *Ireland*, I mean the *Roman Catholicks*. And because these Persons of Quality (and whom I otherwise hold to be really Men of Honour and Conscience) did not then, nor for ought I know, could then, or at any other time before, or after (since the very first time the Case was clearly disputed before his Majesty, and so many printed Papers and Books came out on both sides) allege other Argument to justify this Assertion against the unfortunate *Irish*, but only a Paper found, as written by Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, which might have imported a precedent or designed Resolution of breaking that Peace of 48. And because this is a clear mistake, and to shew evidently that it is, I give here at large, a true and perfect account of that Paper. And beseech the impartial

An Appendix.

impartial Reader, as likewise those Persons of Honour and Conscience, to consider how dishonourable before Men, how sinful and dangerous in the sight of God, their advice is, hath been, and shall be yet further (if, which God forbid, they chance to continue it) to his Majesty, for not performing those Articles to any part of the said Confederates, though ever since unalterably (of their part) observing those very Articles. For by the ensuing relation, it will appear, that Paper (whether rough draught only or not, whether signed or not) was not, in order to, or at the time of the peace of 48. written, or any way relating to this Peace; but verily to the former Peace of 46. as written before this very Peace of 46. was concluded.

For in the Year 1646. when the then Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland* treated of a Peace with his late Majesties Authority, placed in the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, there appeared much difficulty in bringing that Treaty to a Conclusion, in regard the said Confederate Catholicks proposed for more advantagious Conditions in Religion, than those they could obtain upon that Treaty. Whereupon the Earl of *Glamorgan*, being then in *Ireland*, for carrying on the Conclusion of a Peace, with a general concurrence, to the furtherance of his late Majesties service, did declare unto the then Council of the said Confederate Catholicks, that he had power from his said late Majesty, to grant unto them such Conditions in Religion, as they might reasonably expect. Pursuant to which, Articles were agreed on

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between the said Earl of Glamorgan, and the Council, & the said Confederate Catholicks, in order to their satisfaction in matters of Religion. But those Articles were to be secret for a time, to avoid the prejudice that the then publishing thereof might bring on his Majesties service. The observance of which seceretie in those Articles, and the publishing of the other Articles, between the Lord Lieutenant, and the said Catholicks, made some to doubt, that the said secret Articles would be unsecure. For by the publishing of the said other Articles, all Persons must have returned to their former obedience, and the Lord Lieutenant neither knowing or owning the said secret Articles, there could be little hopes of the performance of them. Which Reason induced those who were acquainted with the said secret Articles, to bethink themselves of some expedient to render them more secure. And thereupon it was concluded, upon the request of some of the Clergy, that a motion might also be in the general Assembly of the Confederate Catholicks for an Order to reassume their former Union, if the Articles concluded on were not performed, without mentioning the particulars or matters contained in such Articles. Which was done accordingly, and the Order was drawn up in general terms, that might comprehend the said secret Articles: without discovering any thing of the matters therein contained, or the Party with whom these Articles were concluded. After which it happened, that the Arch-bishop of Tuam (to whose custody the said secret Articles were intrusted) was killed in the County of Sligo, and those Articles, found with him,

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him, were by that means discovered, and made publick, and thereupon the Earl of *Glamorgan* was imprisoned at *Dublin*, for his proceedings in that Matter, and the first Peace, concluded in the said Year 1646. became useleſs to his Majesty, and to his Subjects.

And yet the rough draught of the said Order, as all other the Papers of the *Irish* Confederate Catholicks, coming to the hands of the late Usurped Powers, it hath been, on some Debates since his Majesties Restauration, objected, that the Contents of that rough draught did import a precedent and designed Resolution of the breach of the Peace made in the Year 1648. and so that rough draught having no certain date, was made use of to the prejudice of that last Peace. Whereas, in truth, that rough draught, and the Order of the Assembly that followed it, was made and intended to relate to the former Peace, concluded in the Year 1646. At which time there could be no thought of the later Peace, made in the Year 1648. But to iatisfie any indifferent Person of the truth of this Assertion, let him, if he please, resort to the Book of the Entries of Orders, made in the general Assembly, in the Year 1646. (which Book is now in the Crimination-Office at *Dublin*, but was formerly in the Usurped Powers hands) where he will find, there is no cause to doubt of this truth, and will find himself necessitated to supply the defect of a date in the said rough draught, and reconcile the frivolous Objection raised thereon, in order to the later Peace, concluded in the Year 1648.

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It was likewise long, and no less than a year and a half, after I had finished the fore-going Reply to the Person of Quality, that a Book, entituled *Hoc Subsecutæ*, Printed at London 1664. came to my hands, where I found the Author D. W. Pag. 81, and 83. fall foully upon the Irish Papists, and their Peace of 48. and take it for granted, that P. W's former Writings for that People and Peace have been already so fully refuted, &c. Which is the reason I find myself engaged to add here my brief Observations on what he says. And thus take them Reader.

That in relation to the taking Armes in the Year 1641. and to the extenuation of the Crimes of those who began first, or were after involved in that Quarrel or Insurre~~tion~~, the relation given out of the *Brief Narrative*, which you have near the beginning of this Reply, cannot, in my judgement, but satisfie any indifferent person. That to his bold, temerarious, false, ignorant, and impudent Assertion, Pag. 83. viz. *That the Son (of our late King of glorious memory) Charles the 2. is not obliged in the least, by any Law of God or Man, of War or Nations, to keep any one Particle of the Irish Articles, made or granted by King Charles the Father, in the Year 1648.* There have been such clear and satisfactory Answers made already, and in several Instances, and Occasions by Mouth, Pen, and Print, since his Majesties happy Restauration, that more needs not be said here, since this Author alleges nothing for his own shameful and sinful Assertion, but another only of his own (which we shall give here presently) and such a one too, as convinces him

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of no less ignorance and impudence than the former, it not of more. That besides we have his Royal Majesties own judgement in point, *P. the 10th. of the Act of Settlement.* Which, now being past into a Law, is likewise the judgement of a Parliament of Ireland, where many of those possessed of the Estates of the former Proprietors (who claim the benefit of the said Articles) do sit and vote His Majesties own words, in his gracious Declaration of the 30th. of Nov. 1660. and in the said *Act of Settlement*, are these, *we could not but hold ourself obliged to perform what we owe by that Peace.* And in Page the 11th. saith, *That others advising or concurring in that Settlement, had a due sense of the Obligations which lay upon his Majesties Honour and Justice.*

But this Author of *Horæ subsecivæ* goes further on, to his Reason or Ground forsooth, that is to his other, not only no less false and impudent, but even farre more pernicious and dangerous, both Assertion and Supposition therein contained. *An interloping usurping Conquerour dispossesed both the Father, and the Son, and also those very Popish Confederates, with whom those Articles were made, To which Usurper also, those very Catholick Confederates, and their Associates, submitted, owned him, and complied with him. Then comes the Son, and dispossesseth the Usurper again, and recovers Ireland, as it were ly a new Conquest: In such Case (I say) the Son or Successor is not obliged to any Articles the Father made with his rebellious Subjects, no, nor if he had made them himself, but is freed of all such Obligations, both Jure Belli, and Jure Gentium, as the Civilians in like Cases have long since decided it in their Books.* *And therefore King Charles the 2. may, Jure Belli,*

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Belli, & Gentium, & Lege Talionis (for these too, are this very Author's own words, a little before, to wit, Pag. 81.) without breach of Faith, or Articles (not excepting those of 1648. so much insisted on, and so mightily pleaded for by P. W. and so fully refuted by the Earl of Orery) by that just Law (so often used and prescribed by God himself) take the Lives and Fortunes of all those blood-thirsty Popish Rebels, and their Confederates, and Associates, &c. So, and in such terms, this moderate, knowing Author states the Case of the Irish, and gives his Opinion, without any other kind of reason than what you see here, nay without once mentioning, much less solving even any one Argument to the contrary, or once seeming to doubt of the known falsity, of not only one, but of many of his Suppositions, involved in the Antecedent of such a Consequent, or the fallacious Premisses of so wicked a Conclusion. But he must give me leave to unseal his eyes, if himself will not, or at least to undeceive thee, good Reader, if any way prepossessed by this Gentleman's, either bare Assertion, or by his stating of the Case. For in lieu of his willful Omissions, and false Suppositions, in his stating of it, I must give you these known truths, That the said rebellious Subjects (so styled) before the Usurping Conquerour dispossessed either the Father, or the Son, were returned to their former Obedience, and accepted, own'd, and govern'd, as such, by his Majesty, and his Father of glorious memory, and fought both the Father and Sons Cause, therein lost their blood and fortunes, and never submitted to the said usurped Authority, till they were overpow'rd, and forced there-

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thereunto. That when they could not resist any longer the tyranny of the Usurper, many thousands of them followed the Son's fortune in forein parts, and there enlisted themselves under his Ensignes. And that such as stayed at home, never made any Conditions with the Usurpers, till they were licensed so to do by the Son. This being the full and true state of the Case, it is to be considered, Whether, on the whole matter, the Son be obliged to perform the said Articles? I say he is, both by the Law of God and Man, by the Laws of War and Nations: because Promises, Facts, or Agreements, in things lawful, or that are not sinful, even betwixt Kings and their Subjects, whether at any time Rebells or not, are binding by all these Laws, as I have my self at large evidenced, partly in this Reply, and partly in my Printed Letter, and *Irish Colours Folded*, and others have more amply, in several occasions, and his Majesty, whose testimony and authority is above all exception, most graciously and truly declares, in his publick Act of Settlement, as we have now seen. That what this Trifling Author of *Hora subsecive*, objects, of *an interloping Conquerer*, &c. makes no alteration in the Case. For, I. I must tell this Gentleman, he doth no less ignorantly, than improperly, style the success of the Usurper a Conquest, or him a Conqueror. The raising of Armes by Subjects against their Sovereign, had never yet any name in *England* or *Ireland*, or in the Laws of either, but Rebellion and Treason. And the effects of Treason and Rebellion can never be termed properly or truly a Conquest, nor the prevailing Traitor a Conquerour. For that were

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were to give a Right and Title that might pass to the Traytor's Posterity in succession. 2. That Charles the 2. (whom God preserve) and his Father, are looked on by this Author, and by this Objecti-
on, as dispossess'd by the Usurper. Which is plain ignorance, or at least a willful-and-malicious mistake of the Laws of *England*, which so preserve the Possessions of the Crown, as the King cannot be dispossessed by a Subject. A Subject may intrude, and take the profits of the Land belonging to the King. But this, in Law, can never amount to the dispossessing of the King. Where-ever Charles the 2. was the 30th. of January, in the Year 1648. being the fatal day of his Father's death, *eo instanti* he began his Reign: and therefore now is the 16. Year thereof. Whereas, if he could be dispossess'd of his Crown by his rebellious Subjects, and that horrid Action could be styled a Conquest, and his regaining thereof again, a new Conquest, this should be but the fourth Year of his Reign. And who sees not, it were a very ill exchange for his Majesty, to forgoe his antient and undoubted Right to the Crown of *England*, and to own his holding and enjoyment thereof by Conquest on an Usurper, who could pretend no right thereunto? 3. That, that his ground (of his former bold, impious, and bloody Assertion, or after-conclusion thence derived) of an interloping usurping Conquerour, if admitted for sound or solid, for good or true Doctrine, might prove very disadvantageous and injurious to his Majesties Subjects in general, *English* and *Scots*, of what Religion soever, no less than *Irish* Papists, even, I say, in their Estates, Liberties, and Lives. For if

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a King come even to a Christ an Kingdom by Conquest, he hath *Vita & Necis potestatem*. He may at his pleasure alter and change the Laws of that Kingdom; as appears in Cook l. 7. Report, ¹⁶⁰⁹ *Cambyses Case*. 4. That he falsly charges the *Irish Papists*, to have owned, &c. the Usurper, as I have (a little above) declared. 5. That he doth as falsly and ignorantly, or at least out of desighned malice, and against his own Conscience, averr, That the *Civilians* have, in like Cases, long since decided this Case of the *Irish*, truly stated, as I have above, or any way decided for him, that of an *interloping usurping Conquerour*, &c. applyed to *Charles the 2.* and his good Subjects, whether *English*, *Scots*, or *Irish*, even, I mean, those very *Irish Papists* that formerly had been Confederates, and after submitted to his Majesty, or his Father, upon Articles, fought constantly for him, and under his Banner, and by his Commission, against the *Usurper*, and never submitted since to any other Power whatsoever, but with his said Majesties own consent. If this Gentleman can allege but even one *Civilian* for himself, even, I say, in this Case of his, or any other such *interloping usurping Conquerour*, truly applyed, I will grant him somewhat to excuse his no less inhumane, than unchristian, and most horrid Assertion. But I am confident all his malice cannot find one, whom he dares quote in writing or print. So farr doth he speak, as out of all reason, so out of all Books. 6. That by consequence, necessary following the obligation of publick Agreements, the *Irish* cannot be punished by the King, as this Author fayes they may, *Lege Talionis*, no more than he can, by any other Law (as is before shewed) of God or Man, War or Nations. For the King hath already bound

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his own hands from acting against them, by retaliation, or otherwise, & acknowledges himself to be so bound in honour and justice, according (I mean) to those Articles of 48. and to such as cannot be proved to have, by after disobedience, or siding with an Enemy, forfeited them.

And so I bid this learned, honest, prudent Author of *Hora subseciva adieu*, and to his impertinent reflections on this subject, and my self. And will only add this to thee, judicious Reader, to be considered, whether it be not agreeable to all justice and equity, that those who lost their lives and fortunes in asserting his Majesties Cause, as they have been losers, and afflicted with him, and for him too, in his adversity, ought not, in these days of his Majesties power and prosperity, regain thereby their lost fortunes, especially where the Publick Faith was engaged for their restitution.

As for that scruple, which, peradventure, some may think uncleared as yet, of some few, or even many of those Articling Papists of *Ireland*, to have forfeited the benefit of those Articles, and not for themselves alone, but even for all the rest of their Countrymen, though not in their own persons guilty of any such breach, as those were, or any at all: And for the ground or reason alleged by some for this scruple, viz. That by the prevarication of those few or many, whether the greater or lesser part of that People, whether the Representatives of the whole or not, the Kings end in granting those Articles was frustrated, forasmuch as thereby it happened, that he could not carry on his main Design then against the Usurpers: And as for that too, which is further alleged to this purpose, or for the illustrati-

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on of it, and further grounding of that scruple, That if a Garrison be dismissed out of a Town, upon certain Articles of War, to be freely and safely conveyed to their own Quarters or General, and that any part of them break any of these Articles, which they were to observe at their peril, the whole number have forfeited their right to any such free passage, or safe convey, and are at the mercy of the Conquerour : It is answer'd, That the End, by either side proposed to themselves in making a Peace, or Articles, being frustrated, doth not invalidate such Peace, or Articles, unless such End be in those Articles expressed, and further clear express caution inserted in the Agreement, that otherwise it shall be void. Else, I pray, what Stipulation, Pact, Agreement, or Peace on Earth, can hold, or oblige either side ? And for that Example of a Garrison Town, or Soldiers, capitulating on Articles of War, its answered, The condition of Subjects, enjoying the benefit and protection of the Laws, is far different from that of Enemies. A just Corqueour may, without injustice, if he please, so he break not his word, take from his Enemies, even thir lives, and that not only for the crime or breach of some, but in some cases without any such crime or breach, by any of them : But a just King cannot so carry himself towards his own Subjects, whom he doth once own as such, and as such to be protected and governed by his Laws, as other free-born Subjects. For such he cannot without injustice punish for the Disobedience, Breach, or Rebellion of any other, lesser, or even greater part of their fellow Subjects, whether these represent the whole body of his Subjects or not, whether they frustrate or not his best Designes, and his greatest,

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greatest, most glorious, and just Enterprizes, or not. Otherwise what should become, according to such Law and Justice, I speak, of all the good Subjects of *England, Ireland, & Scotland*, if the King pleased to proceed according to that rigour of Justice against them, when he was re-inthroned? Nay, what should become of all other good Subjects of any Prince or State on Earth, againt whom there have been such frequent Rebellions? Besides, it is against the true meaning of all Laws Divine and Human, that a Judge or Prince doing Justice to his Subjects in a legal way, not by force of Armes, should involve the Innocent in the guilt of punishment of the Noient. And therefore it is plain, that neither that Simple Reason of it, nor Example or Similitude brought to strengthen it, can make anything for them, that would thence conclude the King is wholly free from any Obligation, to any part of the Irish Constitution, arising from the Articles of 48. They have been, since that Peace of 48, Subjects, not Enemies. And those Articles had not any such Clause inserted, that in case any part, lesser or greater, Representatives or others, should break the Conditions, the rest should likewise forgoe, and the End frustrated, doth not make them so forfeit,

A
PANE GYRICK
On the
Most Auspicious and long-wish'd-for Return
OF
The Great EXAMPLE of the Greatest Virtue,
The FAITHFUL ACHATES,
Of Our
ROYAL CHARLES,
AND
The Tutelar Angel (as we justly hope) of our
CHURCH and STATE,

The Most Illustrious

J A M E S
Duke, Marques, and Earl of ORMOND, &c.
Lord Lieutenant and General Governour of His
Majesties Kingdom of Ireland, His Grace.

f. Petri Valley BY F. S. ex Ord. Min. S.T. Lat.

Nemo consideret nimium secundis } Seneca.
Nemo desperet Meliora lapsis. }

Deus nobis hac otia fecit. Virg.

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